

The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXIII

JUNE, 1928

Number 9

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PRINTED AT
THE TORCH PRESS
CEDAR RAPIDS IOWA

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation of the
Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is printed monthly except in July, August, and September by The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The subscription price is \$2.50 per year; the price of single copies is 30 cents. Orders for service of less than a half-year will be charged at the single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Shanghai. For all other countries in the Postal Union, an extra charge of 25 cents is made on annual subscriptions (total \$2.75); on single copies 3 cents (total 33 cents).

The membership fee in each of the associations named above is \$2.00 a year, with the addition of 25 cents a year for Canadian members, for postage. This fee includes subscription to the JOURNAL at a special rate. See the back cover page.

Claims for Missing Numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Twenty-five Reprints are furnished free to the authors of major articles, book reviews, and notes. Additional reprints, if ordered in advance, are supplied at cost. Orders for additional reprints should accompany the corrected proof.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on October 16, 1922, and additional entry as second-class matter at Ann Arbor, Michigan, under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at the special rate of Postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 16, 1922.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXIII

JUNE, 1928

NUMBER 9

Editorial

THE NASHVILLE MEETING

This was probably the first meeting, as one of our welcomers reminded us, at which we were officially welcomed three times; and the quality of our welcome was not inferior to the quantity. President C. E. Little and the Committee on Arrangements, headed by Professor R. B. Steele, had done their work well. The generous co-operation of three hosts — The George Peabody College for Teachers, Vanderbilt University, and Ward-Belmont College — provided a lavish entertainment of luncheons, dinners, and an afternoon tea. It is to be hoped that no single institution which may wish to invite us in the future will feel called upon to emulate Nashville in this respect, for it is far too great a burden for most hosts to assume. In fact the editors feel that the hosts should be spared all such expense and that the members attending such dinners should pay for them.

An enduring impression was made on us by a visit to the Parthenon, which stands not far from the Vanderbilt campus, as complete a restoration of the original in size and detail as could be made. It is a noble reminder of Nashville's claim to be the Athens of the South.

The concluding gesture of hospitality was the automobile trip through the beautiful country which surrounds Nashville to The Hermitage, the home of President Andrew Jackson.

Our chief guest of honor was Joseph Wells, sometime Warden of Wadham College and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Instead of his announced subject he spoke on "Herodotus and Athens." Both the quality of his address and the cordiality of his manner as he met us throughout the sessions helped to make the meeting a memorable one.

The attendance was large, but, as usual, the requisite number of certificates for securing reduced railroad rates was not obtained. We do not believe it will be reached at any meeting, and we suggest that no attempts be made in the future to obtain reduced rates on the certificate plan, since such attempts always result in disappointment. Among the reasons for the failure is the increasing travel by automobile.

The following officers were elected for the year 1928-29: President, R. J. Bonner, University of Chicago; Vice-President, Nellie Angel Smith, West Tennessee State Teachers College; Secretary-Treasurer, W. L. Carr, University of Michigan; Member of the Executive Committee to succeed A. L. Keith, Gustav A. Harrer, University of North Carolina.

THE CHANGE IN EDITORSHIP

At the Nashville meeting Professor Frank J. Miller resigned as editor-in-chief and his colleague asked to be relieved of the duties of conducting the editorial office. Professor Roy C. Flickinger, of the University of Iowa, was elected editor-in-chief in place of Professor Miller and will immediately take over the editorial office. From now on, all articles for publication and all books for review should be sent direct to him at Iowa City, Iowa. It would be superfluous to say that Professor Flickinger is in every way a suitable man for the work, but perhaps I may be allowed to express the pleasure I feel in co-operating with him.

Yet, while welcoming the new editor, I may also be permitted to remind our readers, very briefly, of the services of Professor Miller. This issue completes his twentieth year as editor-in-chief. When he began his service in 1908, the JOURNAL consisted of thirty-two pages. It has now grown to eighty, and the work involved has increased correspondingly. Probably no one who has not undertaken such duties can appreciate the amount of time and thought required by them. Most of the work must be done by one man. With the best will in the world, his colleague can do little more than help in selecting papers and in formulating policies. For seventeen of his twenty years of service Professor Miller

was the man on whom the chief burden fell, until his retirement from regular teaching and his lack of a permanent address made this impossible. For nineteen of his twenty years I have been his colleague, and I know more about his work than anyone else can know. For his cheerful carrying of the load while he could and for the goodfellowship which has made our association an unbroken pleasure I feel a deeper gratitude than I can express.

A. T. W.

THE VERGIL CELEBRATION IN 1930

At its business session, on April 7, 1928, the Association adopted the following recommendations of the Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee reminds the members of the Association of the fact that in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for December, 1924, an editorial called attention to the Italian proposal to celebrate in 1930 the twentieth centennial of Vergil's birth. The Committee believes that the time has now come to take definite steps in preparation for the celebration of this event.

It recommends, therefore:

That the Classical Association of the Middle West and South invite all lovers of Vergil to join Italy in thus honoring her greatest poet.

That the editorial staff of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* be instructed to make the issue of October, 1930, a Vergil number.

That this Association offer a prize of twenty-five dollars for the best tribute to Vergil composed in Latin in a form suitable for a commemorative tablet, reserving the right of withholding the prize if no acceptable tribute is offered.

That the President of the Association appoint a special committee to receive further suggestions and to formulate plans for the proposed Vergil celebration.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS AND WITHDRAWALS FROM MEMBERSHIP

The Secretary-Treasurer urges that all members notify him of changes of address for next year; and if, unhappily, a member wishes to withdraw from membership, that he notify the Secretary-Treasurer promptly. On September 15 a copy of the October

JOURNAL will be sent to every member at his present address unless a change has been requested. If you are not there to receive your copy, and if the postmaster obeys the law which requires him to return it to the Secretary-Treasurer, the Association will pay eight cents return postage to get it back, and then will not know how to reach you. When this is multiplied by several hundred, as it is every year, the total is a serious matter. If, as often happens, the postmaster neglects to do his duty, the result is even worse.

And every year some members continue to receive the JOURNAL and then refuse to pay for it, on the ground that they did not "subscribe" for it for that year. This results from a failure to distinguish between subscription and membership and a failure to realize the obligation laid on members by the reduced cost of the JOURNAL to them.

The subscription rate of the JOURNAL to non-members is \$2.50 in advance. Subscribers, paying this rate, are automatically dropped from the mailing list at the end of their subscription period. If the entire mailing list were made up of such subscribers, the Association would have the trouble and expense of making up a new list every year. But members of the Association receive the JOURNAL as well as the other advantages of membership for a total fee of \$2.00; that is, they receive the JOURNAL at half price. Membership is regarded as permanent until the Secretary-Treasurer has been notified that the member wishes to withdraw. The application for membership states this, and every member, by signing the application, has agreed to it. As a courtesy to absent-minded members, the JOURNAL is continued for some time to those who do not pay their fee promptly. It is a serious loss to the Association if the debt is finally repudiated.

The JOURNAL is not a money-making enterprise. At present its cost and its income almost exactly balance. A comparison with any similar publication will show that members are getting good value for what they pay. No editor of the JOURNAL or officer of the Association is receiving a cent for his services. Please help toward economy by attention to these details.

SOME LATIN WORDS AND THEIR WAYS

By NORMAN W. DEWITT
Victoria College, Toronto

The ordinary dictionary is no less useful and necessary than a city directory, and about as interesting: it identifies words and states their occupations, that is to say, whether they are nouns or verbs or other parts of speech. Even an etymological dictionary, and we have no recent work of the kind in English,¹ aims at best to trace the descent of words; it has nothing in common with a dictionary of biography, and hardly even with *Who's Who*. Thus the romance of words, the game of working back from surviving clues to forgotten habits of Roman thought, remains available as an occasional pastime for those who feel so inclined, and it is no small aid to the interpretation of life and literature.

A true general statement about Latin words, to borrow an idea from the elder Pliny, is this, that they were "made on the farm and transferred to the Forum."² For example, the verb *invehor* must have meant "to ride over" as a man on a horse rides down his foe; in the Forum it means "to inveigh against," having lost to us all the vigor of the primitive metaphor. Again, to take a less brutal example, the word *actus* denoted the amount of land that a yoke of oxen could plow in a day; in the city it signified a division of the drama. On the farm *versus* meant "a furrow"; in the city it was a line of poetry. An older word for furrow was *lira*, from which came *delirium*, denoting the babbling talk of the harmlessly insane. They were "out of the furrow," just as we might say that a man was "off his trolley." Still again, it may be

¹ Wharton's *Etyma Latina*, 1890, antiquated; Bréal and Bailly's *Dictionnaire Étymologique Latin* lays emphasis on the semantic side; Walde's *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, a standard work though too learned for popular use.

² *N. H.* xviii. 179.

recalled that a good plowman drives a straight furrow and walks in it. To straddle the furrow is *varicare*, from which comes the legal term *praevaricari*, "straddle beforehand," or to make a secret agreement with an adversary to conduct a fake lawsuit.

The ancient thrashing floor was even more productive of secondary ideas than the furrow. The scattered sheaves of grain were thrashed by driving cattle round and round upon them. The cattle were called *triones*, from the verb *terere*, "trample," and from these were named the *septentriones*, or seven stars of the Dipper in the northern sky, which revolve round the North Star like the cattle on the thrashing floor. Most dictionaries wrongly call them "plowing oxen," missing the force of the metaphor. Quite rightly the Dipper was sometimes called the wain or *plostrum*, for the Roman farm cart had two wheels and was tilted back with the pole in the air when not in use; this pole resembled the handle of the Dipper.

Wheat was sometimes thrashed by means of a drag drawn by mules or oxen; it was made of planks with sharp stones driven into the lower side. This was the *tribulum*, from which came the Christian term "tribulation" to denote persecution. More often the thrashing floor was associated with mystic purification and the rites of certain deities, especially Ceres. Virgil speaks of "the mystic winnowing fan of Iacchus," to which Servius remarks that "at his mysteries men were purged as grain is purged with sieves."³ The primitive Roman farmer was perhaps innocent of such ideas and merely gave expression to agricultural common sense when he spoke of the *gravitas* of the patrician and the *levitas* of the plebeian; the former was the wheat and the latter the chaff. In the light of this judgment we may understand the phrase *ventosa plebs*, "blown about by every wind of doctrine."

In this connection a chain of ideas may be traced, one developing out of another. The order is "separating," "sifting," "judging." The compound verbs help to piece out the story. Thus *cernere* first meant "separate," as in *discretus*, "separated"; next to "sift," as in *incernibulum*, "sieve," and *incernere*, "sift over."

³ *Geo.* i. 166.

From a rival form of the root came *cribrum*, "sieve," and also *crines*, for sieves were woven of long hair, as they still are in many parts of the world. The meaning "sift" has changed to "judge" in *crimen*, though this word has been narrowed to denote the charge of the accuser.

A parallel development may be traced in the word *castus*, "pure." The root meant first "cut," then "separate," then "sift," and lastly "pure"; the meaning "holy" came from its association with religion. The *mola casta* of the Vestal Virgins was really "bolted flour," but from its use in sacred rites ended by signifying "holy meal." From association with the Vestals *castus* passed to the meaning "chaste." The verb *castigare*, originally "sift," has been deflected to the meaning "chastise," but Virgil employs it of "sifting" in the judicial sense:⁴

castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri.

It may be noted that verbs compounded with *ago* belong to an older stratum of the language than those made from *facio*. Thus *purgo*, from *purus* and *ago*, is older than *purifico*. Naturally the more primitive terms are richer in associations and in secondary meanings.

The most familiar of this ancient family of verbs is *fatigare*, derived from *ago* and an abstract noun *fatis*, which survives only in the phrase *ad fatim* or *affatim*, "to exhaustion." From this noun came *fatisco* and *fatiscor*, "open up," "shell," being properly applied to plants such as peas, beans, and vetches, favorite crops with the Romans. They were thrashed by beating with a rod or flail. The vines make a crackling noise when handled with the fork but are silent after thrashing. Hence an old man was called *decrepitus*, from *crepare*, "snap," when there was no snap left in him. A similar shift of meaning took place in *defessus*, participle of *defetiscor*, its proper meaning being "thrashed out," though in classical Latin it means "tired out." From *defessus*, in turn, by decomposition came *fessus*, for the true participle of the simple verb would have been *fassus*.

⁴ *Aen.* vi. 567.

The verb *fatigare* first meant "thrash by beating," then "beat" in general, and lastly "tire out." Virgil employs it often in the second signification:⁵

versaue iuencum
terga fatigamus hasta,

"With the shaft of the spear we beat the backs of our oxen." So *silvasque fatigant*, "they beat the bush," and *fluctusque fatigat*, "she thrashes the waves." A careful study of all the instances of this word in Virgil's poetry well repays the trouble and time; he plays with the possible connotations without forcing the etymology.

The auction sale and the cattle market have also bequeathed a legacy of words to the Latin language. It is manifest from Varro's *De Re Rustica* that the sale and purchase of farm animals was carried on with characteristic Roman gravity and attended by ceremonies long established by law and custom. It is likely that these have survived to some extent in modern Umbria and elsewhere. For example, at Assisi the vendor and purchaser are each attended by a friend who does all the talking — and gesticulating, for it is a strenuous performance.⁶ We may suspect that these friends are the ancient *interpretes*, who fix the *pretium* or price. It may well have been that when Latins dealt with Samnites, Etruscans, or Umbrians the *interpres* was absolutely necessary. Any student who attacks the remains of these languages today would frankly admit that a farmer of Latium would be helpless without a go-between.

The next step in this solemn ceremony was the guarantee or *stipulatio*.⁷ The vendor and purchaser faced one another holding between them the dry stalk of a plant, *stipula*, just as two people nowadays hold the wishbone of a fowl. The vendor then made a declaration such as follows: "I guarantee these animals to be of sound health, to be out of a healthy herd, to be without blemishes, and that they may be held in lawful possession." Then they broke

⁵ *Aen.* ix. 609-10 and 605; x. 304.

⁶ Cameron, *Umbria, Past and Present*, pp. 77-78.

⁷ Isidore *Etym.* v. 24. 30; Varro *R.R.* ii. 2. 6; 4. 5; *et saepe*.

the stalk and took their departure, probably to the nearest wine-shop, feeling that a bond had been established between them. With this may be compared the custom of lovers who used to break a coin and carry the halves of it as a pledge of engagement to marry. The Roman ceremony was denoted by the deponent *stipulari*.

The Romans also made a ceremony of buying goods at an auction sale. The intending purchaser indicated his assent, not by nodding his head as nowadays, but by raising a *digitus*, which was almost certainly the thumb, *pollex*; hence the ceremonial deponent *polliceri*, "bid at auction." Raising the thumb, as is well known, was a sign of assent or approval; to turn up both thumbs was double approval:

Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.⁸

Walde derives *pollex* from *polleo*, "be strong," on the analogy of *index* from *indicare*, but it is more likely that both *pollex* and *polliceri* are derived from *por*, a form of *pro*, and an obsolete verb *licio*, "strike," from which comes *lictor*, "scourger."⁹ The verb *promittere* comes to mean "promise" by a similar semantic shift; it really means to raise a finger or hand as a sign of approval. Martial writes:

Promisit pariter Caesar utraque manu.¹⁰

Literally, "Caesar thrust out with both hands at the same time." Idiomatically, "Caesar indicated his assent by raising his two hands at once." The technical term of the auction, however, is *polliceri*; the deponent form hints that it was an engagement to purchase undertaken in the presence of witnesses. *Indicare*, to point with the first finger or *index*, is not deponent, because it has no ceremonial significance.

Sometimes a word reached the city and the Forum by way of the camp. An example is *cohortari*. The term *cohors* properly denoted the rectangular farmyard surrounded on three sides by

⁸ Horace *Ep.* i. 18. 66.

⁹ See *Cl. Phil.*, 1918, XIII, 3 pp. 311-313.

¹⁰ *Liber Spectac.* 20. 2.

house, stables, and barns, French *cours*.¹¹ For this reason it was natural that the farmer soldiers should say they were "cohorted" when the general drew them up on three sides of a hollow square to deliver his harangue. The verb was made deponent because it described a ceremony consisting of a number of operations, the deponent being specially adapted for the expression of omnibus notions. Subsequently the term was narrowed to denote the speech-making. A parallel development may be observed in the forensic word *contionari*; a *contio* or "assembly of citizens" was called by a properly qualified official, addressed from the Rostra, and legally dismissed. To describe this elaborate procedure a deponent verb was necessary; this in turn, like *cohortari*, was narrowed to denote the speech-making. It may be noted that *hortari* comes from *cohortari* by decomposition, like *fessus* from *defessus*; the starting point is *cohors*.

¹¹ Varro *L.L.* v. 88.

CICERO AND HIS HOUSE ON THE PALATINE

By W. B. McDANIEL, 2D
Washington Square College
New York University

Nego ullo de opere publico, de monumento, de templo tot senatus exstare consulta quot de mea domo, quam senatus unam post hanc urbem constitutam ex aerario aedificandam, a pontificibus liberandam, a magistratibus defendendam, a iudicibus puniendam putarit.

— Cicero *De Harus.* 16.

Whoever has himself carried on a summer's day over the dusty road to Tivoli and thence into the hot Sabine hills in search of a certain "farm," when at length he comes upon its shell, is filled with two wonders: in the first place, that a poet, a creature notorious for living in the clouds, should have selected so hot a place for his retreat; and, secondly, that a "farm" should indicate even in its groundwork the appointments of a more than respectable modern villa. As a matter of fact, of course, the odes of Horace which deal with the Sabine farm treat largely of its beauties in spring and winter; those which deal with its proportions and modesty employ the negative rather than the positive. But always there lingers in the "farm consciousness" of the modern American mind *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus*, with its suggestion of rough cabin, huge logs burning fiercely upon the hearth, and, in fitting season, this Omar of a Roman reclining at his ease under a fig tree, his brow glistening and crowned with garland of the everlasting myrtle. Thus is the sentimental reader of the odes led astray; for the "farm" with its ample proportions and finely finished floors of marble in mosaic is no farm of a Vermont hill-side. And simplicity, too, is seen to be, after all, only relative.

This readjustment of values has often to be made in a reckoning with our ancients. The simplicity of a Cato, for instance, is one thing, that of a Horace another, and that of Cicero still an-

other. Now simplicity, the Church as evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, has long been revered by men as one of the more worth-while of the virtues — possibly because true simplicity is not too easily attained. As such, in its primal, or Catonian character, it has been fastened upon each mortal who was to be worshiped; and this not only by men who truly revered it, but by those who have insisted upon handling the great figures of the past as though they were gods in need of whitewashing, instead of vulnerable men.

And so it comes about that one and another Roman of the late Republic, and later, is to be found entangled in the cool bonds of simplicity, who should be playing in another yard. Such a one, it seems to me, is Cicero, around whose name hover the lambent forms of all the Roman virtues, that of simplicity not far to the rear; which is as it should be, if only the student will realize that as times change, and fashions in clothes, so do also man's standards of the virtues. The transvaluation of values is at work here, too. If Horace's farm, then, is held to be at all inconsistent with this great Roman, idealistic, set of values, what, in Heaven's name, is to be said of Cicero's house upon the Palatine?

That a "new man," even a Cicero, should buy for himself a home upon the Palatine Hill was an occasion for the lifting of certain eyebrows, and for the murmurings of some ancestral deities. For this "new man," in addition to being that, and although he had been consul and was then one of the foremost men in Rome, had not even been born in Rome. And the Palatine was not unaware of being the most aristocratic residential section in the Mediterranean world. This attitude of some of the residents of the Hill toward Cicero — they were largely of those who had no political affection for him — is somewhat less interesting to the student of the Republic than the openly expressed desire of the great man himself to establish his residence in this stronghold of the Roman aristocracy. This passionate desire — it was hardly less than that — of a man who had won the highest honors the Roman people could bestow, to neighbor himself with his social superiors, should not pass uncommented upon in any honest dis-

cussion of Cicero's character; that this desire should lead him into debt, into political entanglements, into a barrage of caustic comment, is only the more significant.

And yet the reason, the basis, of this desire is, after all, I think, a simple one. To Cicero, as to the early Romans and, in less degree, to those who came later, the house, the home, was more than a sheltering framework of stone; it was the temple of the family, and the family, after the state, was a man's reason for the high exercise of his faculties. What more natural or right than that the family, like the state, have a temple emblematic of its worth?

This attitude toward the house is indicated clearly enough when Cicero writes: "We have heard that Gnaeus Octavius, the first of that family to be elected consul, distinguished himself by building upon the Palatine an attractive and imposing house. Everybody went to see it, and it was thought to have gained votes for the owner, a new man, in his canvas for the consulship. That house Scaurus demolished, and on its site he built an addition to his own house. Octavius, then, was the first of his family to bring the honor of the consulship to his house; Scaurus, though the son of a very great and illustrious man, brought to the same house, when enlarged, not only defeat, but disgrace and ruin."¹ In these words, a curious echo of the Sallustian invective against Cicero, one recognizes the classic attitude, if, as well, one of the multitudinous Ciceronian apologies. Cicero's pursuit of a house upon the Palatine is to be regarded, I think, as the acquisition in prospect of a concrete symbol of his position in Rome, and in that way as a temple to the gods of his fathers.

Just where, exactly, this fine house stood, is, of course, a matter for conjecture. *In conspectu prope totius urbis*, it must have been set, says Hülsen, "on the west peak of the hill and over the house of the Vestals."² That it was immediately below the house of Clodius we know from Cicero's threat to add stories enough to it to block out from Clodius' sight the city which he had sought

¹ *De Offic.* i. 39.

² Hülsen, *Forum und Palatin*, 1926, p. 72.

to destroy.³ Clodius had bought his house for 15,000,000 sesterces, of M. Aemilius Scaurus. Scaurus, a man of great wealth, had himself bought it of Lucius Crassus, enlarged it and made it more magnificent. In the time of Crassus' possession the house had won the name of Palatine Venus from M. Brutus, because it was the first private residence to boast of columns of marble from Hymettus.⁴ For neighbors there were, in addition to Clodius, at one time and another, such prominent citizens as Catiline, M. Fulvius Flaccus, the orator Hortensius, Q. Lutatius Catulus, the porticos of whose home were built out of spoils won by him and Marius from the Cimbri in 102.⁵ "These houses belonged to a type of *domus* which at first was simple, but was growing rich in arrangements toward the close of the Republican period. They were, that is to say, distinguished from the irregular, many-storied *insulae*, the height of which Augustus limited to 70 feet, by being private houses, as Italian palaces are, meant for a single family, and built in mixed plan derived from ancient Italian and Graeco-Hellenic traditions, a plan which at the present day may most conveniently be studied in the Pompeian type, in the 'House of Pansa' and others similar to it. The appointments of the interior were simple for long, so that it is recorded of Licinius Crassus that he was the first man in Rome who adorned his atrium with columns of marble of Hymettus."⁶

But, as was to be expected, it was not long before the Palatine Venus was partnered by other beauties upon the green slopes of the Palatine. And it does not cause wonder that the marble columns of Cicero's house, when it had been sacked and plundered by the Clodian gang, were found worthy by the consul, Piso, of being transferred a short distance to the home of his mother-in-law on the Hill.⁷ The house which Cicero bought, in 62, of the

³ *De Harus*. 15.

⁴ Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, p. 169 ff.; Pliny *H. N.* xxxvi. 109-12, 114.

⁵ *De Domo Sua* 43; Val. Max. vi. 3. 1.

⁶ Amelung and Holtzinger, *Museums and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, II, 108 ff.

⁷ Cic. *Post Red.* 7.

relative and namesake of the orator Crassus, was one originally built by the distinguished Drusus.⁸ Of its outward appearance and contents we can only manufacture an imaginary picture out of the stray brick and mortar of information. The price Cicero paid was in the neighborhood of \$150,000. It is not likely to have been anything but a large and impressive villa, not the most magnificent on the Hill, but hardly one to feel out of place there. Its purchase, however, would not be an act to conciliate the scrupulous economist. For the purpose Cicero was obliged to "borrow" of Sulla, whom he had but lately defended in the courts, some 2,000,000 sesterces.⁹ The fact became known, and, whether the act prohibiting the acceptance of fees for legal services had become ineffective or not, there was talk — talk which Cicero answered by saying that a man has to keep a prospective purchase secret in order to ward off competitors. It was an apology, most often referred to as Cicero's "joke," which hardly silenced the tongues of his enemies. The attack on Cicero for the purchase of this house was not limited to this occasion. It was used apparently time and again as a stinging blow. Sallust, for instance, in the invective referred to above, writes, "But I suppose your spirits are raised by the brilliance of your home, by a wife guilty of sacrilege and dishonored by perjury, by a daughter who is her mother's rival and is more compliant and submissive to you than a daughter should be to a parent. Even your house, fatal to yourself and your family, you attained by violence and robbery, doubtless in order to remind us how our country has changed when you, vilest of men that you are, live in the house which was once the property of that most distinguished man, Publius Crassus." And elsewhere in this invective is the accusation that Cicero held trials under the Plautian Law in his own home, and that with the revenue of fines collected from those convicted there he bought and built his villas at Tusculum and Pompeii and his house at Rome.

But the house, extravagance that it was, did not cease its

⁸ Cic. *De Domo* 37; *De Harus.* 8, 33.

⁹ Petersson, T., *Cicero*, p. 288.

demands with that on Sulla. In 61 Cicero, in difficulties over further payments on it, was having difficulties, too, in securing payments from Gaius Antonius' representative in Rome, payments expected probably as some prearranged compensation for the rich province of Macedon, which Cicero had yielded to Antonius. And in 60, with the payments on the house still incomplete, Cicero was dickering with Pompey and Crassus over the proposed proconsular preferments; i.e., Spain for the former, and Syria for Crassus. Both were recorded as "mere bagatelle."¹⁰ At these references the cynic will smile to see the old story of political give and take so early in operation; the humanist will smile, a bit wanly, it is true, as he recognizes the blemish which, by contrast, points out the beauty; only the unreasoning sentimentalist, who is always with us, will squirm.

What was the aspect of this house of Cicero on the Palatine Hill? Rather, of the two houses, for it must not be forgotten that the first house, the house with the figure of Sulla outlined behind it, was destroyed at the time of Cicero's exile in 58; that on its site arose the second house, which the senate and people voted to Cicero on his return a year later. Of the physical aspect of these houses we know practically nothing — but since our interest here is in the house as a symbol, that is not a matter of great importance. Suffice it, then, that each was a large house, a splendid one, which well befitted an ex-consul and most distinguished citizen; withal a somewhat empty one. The beloved Tullia had been married in 63, the year of Cicero's consulship, and her footsteps would have echoed but seldom in the old house or in the new until her divorce, which was followed closely by her remarriage in 56. There must have been periods of her presence in the new house from then until 50, when she became the wife of Dolabella. In 46 divorce once more meant to her the escape from disillusionment, and Tullia returned again to the house of her father, to be followed shortly by a step-mother, some years her junior. Hers were footsteps that, though many a time they must have echoed a weary soul, sounded ever gratefully in Cicero's ear; footsteps which were

¹⁰ Sihler, E. G., *Cicero of Arpinum*, p. 178.

heard for the last time, however, so very soon in the villa at Tusculum, no unpleasant place, though that be small comfort to the sorrowing father, to behold as the last of this earth.

There was Marcus, three years old when the house was bought, some of whose first associations must have been with it. But associations, environment, if you will, are not the whole explanation of the man a boy turns out to be: Marcus was not of the spirit of Cicero. He lived a youth of the time, of all time, care-free, comfortably impervious to the Latin Oration, Ciceronian or otherwise; and one fancies him in one room or another of this house being "given it by the old man." It is pleasant, however much we may know of him and of his chief claim to distinction, to remember that it is to Marcus, with affection, that the *De Officiis* is dedicated.

And then Terentia, hard, capable, extravagant, according to her husband, the story of whose married life has never, can never, be written. When in exile, his house burned, his fortunes to all appearances lost, Cicero writes to her: "How wretched I am! And must a woman so gentle, so virtuous, so honorable, so devoted be thus tormented for my sake?"¹¹ And again: "Oh, my wife, I would wish to see you again, and die in your arms!"¹² Shortly he has returned to Rome, his fortunes are restored, and in 46 — he divorces her! In such affairs what the world knows counts for little. It is our privilege, therefore, to picture as we will the presence of Terentia as mistress of the house on the Palatine Hill. Perhaps the union was of some such sort as this: he tremendously occupied with the affairs of Rome, important, tense, with the quick nerve reaction of the person who lives chronically at high speed mentally, exhibiting a more than ordinary devotion to their daughter; she spirited, capable, neglected, growing hard within. One cannot, without ultimate disaster, be an orator, even of the best, at home. This was the family that, with the brief presence of the young ward and wife, Publilia, was at home in this house.

¹¹ Cic. *Ad Fam.* xiv. 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, xiv. 3.

One knows, of course, from Cicero himself that a crowd continuously thronged his halls — to his great expense. One pictures impressive receptions and smaller, more important, meetings — one sees Pompey and Brutus in private conference with the great orator; and in the course of time the “friend of friends,” the immortal Atticus, returned at length from Greece, to resume as extraordinarily consistent an attitude of “taking no sides” as this world is ever likely to see. To him, worker for all, defender of none, Cicero, in fact, turned over certain details in the reconstruction of the house. And it would be ill-done, finally, not to notice bustling about, as youth, as man, a servant-extraordinary in the person of Tiro; as slave, more free than many a freedman; as freedman, in his last days, still slave to the desires and the needs of his adored master. It was Tiro, educated by Cicero himself, secretary and manager, who saw to it that the wheels went ’round. And the house on the Palatine was dominated, quietly but efficiently, as one of many tasks, but lovingly, not by a consul, but by a slave.¹³

All the world at Rome was familiar with walls which we have not seen, but which Cicero valued as the symbol of his success. Not only within his dwelling, however, was the world to be found. For in his time, hardly before, there was at Rome, and of course domiciled on the Palatine, that institution which, for want of a better word, we call “Society.” Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, a woman of brilliant attainments, had her salon there. And there was the wife of Metellus, Clodia, sister to “that priest of Bona Dea,” himself a near neighbor; as was Julius Caesar, living in a palace which sported a pediment like that of a temple, the natural inference to be that a god dwelt therein — an error in taste which offended Cicero. Clodia’s house, too, and her gardens at the river and her summer villa on the bay of Naples were always open, particularly to the young men of Rome. And thus it is that the “Lesbia” of Catullus also lived upon the Palatine.¹⁴

In those days, as well, growing up at Ox-Heads in the Palatine

¹³ Boissier, G., *Cicero Et Ses Amis*, the chapter on Atticus.

¹⁴ Frank, T., *History of Rome*, p. 322.

quarter, not so far away, near the old Curiae, and in the house which became later the home of the orator L. Calvus,¹⁵ was the son of Octavius — a good neighbor Octavius, whose example in dealing with the Roman allies Cicero urged his brother Quintus to follow when the latter was serving, with no great credit to himself, as propraetor of the province of Asia.¹⁶ This son Cicero saw growing up day by day, with cold, eager eyes upon the Rome outstretched before him, which one day he was in fact to change from a city of brick to one of marble. Nor did Cicero suspect as he encountered the boy on the Via Sacra or the Via Nova, in his father's house, or possibly in Cicero's own house at play with young Marcus, but two years the elder, little did he suspect, in all probability, that this lad would one day have the power to say the word that would save him from death — a word that would not be spoken. Thus did fate run laughing up and down that Hill, the splendid, sordid scene upon which every drama founded on the human passions was, at one time or another, played.

One pictures Cicero, then, in this fine house, the center of an admiring throng, living as a distinguished man should, in the midst of the most aristocratic society of the time. At what cost — that Cicero never knew, caring only that the symbol of his success be there for all men's eyes to see.

Four short, momentous years. In 62 Cicero purchased his first house. In 58, through the machinations of his neighbor and bitter enemy, Clodius, came the "interdictment from fire and water" — Cicero's banishment from Rome. Swept away at a stroke was all the visible evidence of the position he had won. In the dark of night, with an escort of faithful friends, he left the house on the Palatine Hill, his wife and children, and, as it seemed, all but life itself. Not merely with the departure from the house was Cicero's cup of bitterness to be filled to overflowing; no sooner had he left than Clodius and his gang, driving Terentia to take refuge with her sister, Fabia, among the Vestals, set upon the house, sacked it completely, and then burned it to the ground.

¹⁵ Amelung and Holtzinger, *Museums and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, pp. 208 ff.

¹⁶ Cic. *Ad Quint.* i. 1. 21.

This was the worst deed of an evil spirit. "What is more sacred, what more inviolably hedged about by every kind of sanctity, than the home of every individual citizen! Within its circle are his altars, his hearths, his household gods, his religion, his observances, his ritual; it is a sanctuary so holy in the sight of all that it were sacrilege to tear an owner therefrom."¹⁷ One may accept Cicero's words as the sincere expression of religious sentiment, or one may not; whichever way one goes, one cannot deny that to him the house in which a man lived was something more than a physical shelter composed of walls and roof, that it was, materially, his sign.

To have this sign destroyed, wantonly it seemed, was Cicero's anguish. But fortune had not yet smiled her last smile upon him, for in something more than a year's time, after blood had been spilled at the polls over the question, Cicero was recalled from his exile. Then began the triumphal journey back to Rome, a journey which ended in an enthusiastic reception by the citizens and in three speeches from Cicero. The speeches had to do primarily with the restitution of his house on the Palatine. The senate and the people, moved, were agreed that his property should be restored to him. But Nemesis, this time again in the person of Clodius, stepped in briefly. In Cicero's absence Clodius had caused the ruined property of Cicero to be dedicated to Liberty — with the thought that once so dedicated it could never revert to Cicero. Now, with the rebuilding going on, it was reported that sharp sounds and the clash of arms had been heard underground. The soothsayers interpreted the phenomenon to mean that sacred places had been violated; Clodius, carrying this a step farther, interpreted the "sacred place" to mean Cicero's property. Another speech in the senate, Clodius is repudiated, and the work of rebuilding goes on. The wings of this Roman eagle may now sink to rest.

And that is the picture we have of Cicero from this time until the death of Caesar — a tired eagle, with iron wings in repose, and head a-droop upon its breast.

Removed from the continual stress and stir of the Forum

¹⁷ Cic. *De Domo*. 109.

Cicero spent this period largely in writing, probably oftener at Tusculum than in Rome. In this period occurred his divorce and his second marriage, too impossible a union to bring much happiness to the house; occurred, too, the death of Tullia. The time was spent not always at Rome, or even at Tusculum; there were the villas at Pompeii and at Formiae as well. But the house on the Palatine seems to have maintained always its supremacy in his philosophy and in his pleasure. "In these days, when every man's life hangs in the balance, I set high store by my Palatine palaestra for a summer."¹⁸

"But my province is solitude and retirement."¹⁹ Not at the end, however, either on the Palatine, or at Tusculum. Cicero lived to find no gratitude in man, no refuge in houses. Do you suppose there ever came to him the thought expressed in the following words by another landlord?

Quid ultra tendis? Aequa tellus
Pauperi recluditur
Regumque pueris.²⁰

"My house, gentlemen, stands full in view of well-nigh the whole city; and if it abides in the city, not as the city's monument but as her sepulcher, inscribed with an enemy's name, then I must migrate elsewhere rather than dwell in a city where I witness the erection of trophies over myself and over the republic."²¹ One must see this house, therefore, so peculiarly integral a part of a human life, as the worldly symbol of greatness appealing to a man whose greatness mocked the symbol. So are men too often false to the light within them. The house of Cicero, "which stood certainly until the time of Tiberius and was perhaps swallowed up in the magnification of the *Domus Tiberiana*,"²² is now no more. No splendid houses longer dot the slope of the Palatine — no emperors, no consuls, no "new men" even, with bounding ambition and silver tongue — only ghosts more real than men and words more lasting than stones.

¹⁸ Cicero in a letter from Antium, 59 B.C.

¹⁹ Cic. *Ad Att.* xii. 26.

²⁰ Horace *Odes* ii. 18.

²¹ Cic. *De Domo* 37.

²² Hülsen, *Forum und Palatin*, p. 72.

IN DEFENSE OF CHAEREA IN THE *EUNUCH* OF TERENCE

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All students of classical comedy are under an enormous debt to Professor Gilbert Norwood for his admirable reinterpretation of Plautus and Terence. His book, *The Art of Terence*,¹ is a masterpiece of original criticism and of deliberate recasting of time-worn opinions.

His theme is presented, with some vivacity, thus (1-2):

There can be few freaks in the history of criticism more amazing than that which presents Terence as a kind of Plautus for Lower Forms, an industrious apprentice who contrived to write charming Latin and whose only other feat was to provide material for Molière, Chapman and Steele. . . . But solemnly to compare him with Plautus — Plautus who wrote plays like a blacksmith mending a watch, and to base the comparison upon meticulous discussions of sources or metre, even of such important topics as comic vigour or variety of interest, but to ignore meanwhile the immense gulf which separates the two writers, is nothing less than a crime against scholarship and art.

For this traditional prejudice against Terence, Norwood suggests two reasons: first, the limited subject matter with which he concerned himself; and second, the fact that the Roman point of view, with its frank lack of sensitiveness to the subtler forms of art,² has imposed itself upon modern readers.

¹ Oxford (Blackwell), 1923.

² Norwood omits it, but there would be particular point in citing in this connection the well-known passage in which Polybius depicts the Roman lack of musical taste. The date of the incident is 167 B.C. Inasmuch as Terence's *Eunuch* was performed in 161 B.C. (there is even some possibility that an earlier presentation took place in 166: see Dziatzko-Hauler's *Phormio*, p. 16) the audiences may be considered for practical purposes identical. The translation is Shuckburgh's.

The extraordinary value of this book lies in the fact that Norwood does Terence the simple justice of viewing him always as a playwright.³ It is well that the philologist can find in Terence or Plautus much of interest. It is a mistake, however, to allow

"Lucius Anicius, who had been praetor, after his victory over the Illyrians, and on bringing Genthius prisoner to Rome with his children, while celebrating his triumph, did a very ridiculous thing. He sent for the most famous artists from Greece, and having constructed an immense theatre in the circus, he brought all the fluteplayers on the stage together first. Their names were Theodorus the Boeotian, Theopompus and Hermippus of Lysimacheia, the most celebrated of the day. He placed them on the proscenium with the chorus, and bid them all play at once. But on their beginning to play the tune, accompanied by appropriate movements, he sent to them to say that they were not playing well, and must put more excitement into it. At first they did not know what to make of this, until one of the lictors showed them that they must form themselves into two companies, and facing round, advance against each other as though in a battle. The fluteplayers caught the idea at once, and, adopting a motion suitable to their own wild strains, produced a scene of great confusion. They made the middle group of the chorus face round upon the two extreme groups, and the fluteplayers, blowing with inconceivable violence and discordance, led these groups against each other. The members of the chorus meanwhile rushed, with a violent stamping which shook the stage, against those opposite them, and then faced round and retired. But when one of the chorus, whose dress was closely girt up, turned round on the spur of the moment and raised his hands, like a boxer, in the face of the fluteplayer who was approaching him, then the spectators clapped their hands and cheered loudly. Whilst this sort of sham fight was going on, two dancers were brought into the orchestra to the sound of music; and four boxers mounted upon the stage, accompanied by trumpeters and clarion players. The effect of these various contests all going on together was indescribable. But if I were to speak about their tragic actors, I should be thought by some to be jesting. . . ." The passage is given by Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* xiv. 615 a-e (Teubner, ed. Kaibel, III, pp. 356-57) as an extract from Polybius' 30th book. Kaibel indicates by his punctuation that he believes the passage to be an exact transcript of Polybius' words; the insertion of *φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος* in the last sentence shows rather, as Shuckburgh observed (p. 419, n.) that Athenaeus paraphrased the story.

³ In a footnote (pp. 2-3) he passes damning criticism upon the scholars from Varro to Mackail at whose hands Terence has suffered because of their willingness "to estimate dramatic works without considering their dramatic quality." He refers to Professor Ashmore's edition with great restraint. As a matter of fact, however good this edition may be from the philological point of view, its literary helpfulness is practically negligible, in that the author has no conception at all of the stage or of drama as something separate from written text.

this linguistic urge to stand in the way of appreciation of a dramatist whose every artistic instinct is for the development of character and action rather than for phraseology, excellent though this may be.

In a work such as this, where there is so much striking re-evaluation, there are inevitably points of minor importance to which readers will find objection. To one of these points I wish to call attention in this paper — an interpretation which involves, to my mind, a rather striking misconception of a character, but at the same time does not affect materially the critical value of Norwood's view of the whole play.

According to the author's exegesis (p. 57) the *Eunuch* of Terence "is a strange medley of qualities. Dull and brilliant, immoral and edifying, abjectly Plautine and splendidly Terentian — it is all these by turns. . . . The persistence of Terentian elegance in language, of Terentian psychology side by side with scenes of quasi-Plautine farce and the Plautine combination of architectural simplicity and clumsiness, is a curious and improving study." The central character is the beautifully drawn prostitute Thais, but the play takes its name from the escapade of the character only second to Thais in importance, the young boy Chaerea. According to Norwood (pp. 60-61) the "detestable behaviour" of Chaerea "provides a passage which is the most brilliant and perhaps the most objectionable feature of the whole. . . . It must be confessed openly that here for once Terence presents us with pictures which are or may be deleterious." From this viewpoint (pp. 61-63) Chaerea "does not weakly succumb to a sudden impulse of love, but deliberately and skilfully gratifies a physical appetite.⁴ . . . Still more surprising, possibly, since it cannot be called

⁴ Norwood in a note to this phrase continues his condemnation of Chaerea thus: ". . . his desire for marriage must be referred to that wonderful provision of Nature which has often been known to base genuine affection upon an indulgence in the first instance merely physical" (p. 62, note 1). In the light of this criticism the reader may well ask on what grounds, then, Chaerea is so harshly condemned. Terence is interested, as indeed any dramatist must be, in drawing characters, not in furnishing moral patterns. Irregular passions and the "wonderful provision of Nature" alike furnish effective dramatic material. Even admitting the existence of a moral issue here, it should be stated in fair-

in any sense needful to the plot, is a raffish succulence of phrase attributed to Chaerea, who does not merely commit a licentious act, but shows himself a professional Lothario. . . . He can even quote the gods as warrant for his behaviour . . . and it is true moreover that the set with which he associates is callously corrupt."

Now surely all of this is breaking a butterfly on the wheel. Norwood has stressed throughout with such effect the *humanitas*⁵ of Terence, with its splendid example of Thais in this very play, that one is disappointed to find him neglectful of the same quality in the picture of Chaerea. It has not been sufficiently noted, I think, that Terence has a special fondness for the adolescent youth; that his "weak young men" are not merely characters drawn without accuracy or interest, but are the results of exact observation of youth in all the turmoil of transition from boyhood to manhood. Chaerea might well find his present-day counterpart on any college campus or, with some little additional vulgarity, on any street corner in a modern city. He certainly is not unnatural in his enthusiastic attention to female beauty. His own claim to connoisseurship in matters of this sort⁶ is amply supported by the "raffish succulence of phrase," which may be reprehensible, but is still a familiar characteristic of boys at his age.⁷

Typical also is the headlong enthusiasm with which he welcomes not only his amour but the prospect of his marriage.⁸ Equally characteristic is the way in which the attention of this volatile youth shifts suddenly from his love affair to the dinner

ness to Chaerea that in the ancient as in the modern world marriage really was accepted as the social reparation for the misdeed of which Chaerea is guilty.

⁵ See the excellent statement on pp. 150-52.

⁶ *Me noris quam elegans formarum spectator siem?* (566); compare his first inquiry about Thais, whom he has never seen: *Estne, ut fertur, forma?* (361), and also his comment, in 296-97:

*O faciem pulchram! deleo omnis dehinc ex animo mulieres.
taedet cottidianarum harum formarum.*

⁷ See the lines quoted above, and further, for this frank fleshly interest, lines 320, 362, 366-68 and 583-89.

⁸ See lines 305-12, 375-90, 1031-36, 1044-49, and compare 549-61, 574.

party (lines 607-608). This is not "callously corrupt"; it is merely the rapid change of interest in a boy to whom two concerns seem for the moment equally important. If this is bad ethics, it is also excellent dramatic observation. Terence's young men, when facing complex situations, become as a rule hesitant and indecisive. In this play Chaerea's enthusiasm is depicted as leading to rapid action. So for instance he takes Parmeno suddenly at his word when the latter suggests impersonation of the eunuch (lines 376-80). So too he determines after only a moment's hesitation to face Thais (848-49), speaks confidently of obtaining his father's consent to the marriage (889-90), and, it will be noticed finally as a subtle detail, it is he who makes the decision with regard to Thraso (1068, 1083), while his older brother hesitates.

The qualities I have noticed so far — obsession with the physical, and volatile enthusiasm — would in any age invite criticism from older, conventional persons. No less irritating would have been the youth's ability to express himself succinctly and to the point. Chaerea is a phrase-maker. Note for example his enthusiastic opinion of the beauty of the girl he has just seen (294-95): "I don't know where to look for her, but I can rely on one thing: no matter where she is, she can't be hid long"; or his caustic comment on the efforts of mothers to keep their daughters slim and presentable (313-17). He has a penchant for short, blunt, sometimes intentionally shocking statements. Witness his answer to Parmeno (307), his cool confessions of ignorance (321-23), his description of the delay imposed on him by the old family friend (333-41), and of the eunuch, his brother's gift to Thais (357-58). The whole attitude toward the picture of Jupiter and Danae is summed up in the jaunty way (590-91) in which he quotes the old poet⁹ merely in order to make a vulgar application of his sonorous line. It would be inaccurate to deduce from this passage that Chaerea is irreligious. He is merely "smart," and again the portraiture is true to life.

After all, the most attractive characteristic of the boy is the

⁹ This reminiscence of Ennius is observed by Norwood (p. 58, note 2). Ashmore cites much less aptly Homer *Iliad* i. 530.

nonchalance and cool self-confidence with which he moves through the play.¹⁰ One ought not, possibly, to like him for this, but then one *does*. Clever, witty rogues seem naturally to appeal to human sympathy. In the scene in which he confronts the enraged Pythias and her mistress (851-63) his poise, which here amounts to effrontery, seems to break through the usual calm effectiveness of Thais, at least until the latter, who understands and likes him (as can be seen from her quick retort to Pythias, 839), makes her beautiful and successful appeal to his better nature (864-71). It is precisely here that we have the clue to the character of the boy. Chaerea is no incorrigible scamp. His impressionable nature is easily and skilfully touched by Thais, and to the end of the action he speaks to her and of her only in the most cordial and at the same time respectful way.¹¹ It is noteworthy — and one may be sure that this detail was consciously observed by the dramatist — that not the slightest trace of fleshly interest in Thais¹² appears after her rebuke in lines 864-71.¹³

Chaerea, then, if my interpretation is correct, is a young, likable boy, with an impetuous, passionate, rather self-centered disposition. Impulses which he has the ability to translate into action, and which he has no desire to control, involve him in a misdeed for which, with the same impulsiveness, he is eager to make generous amends. He has at once a sharp tongue, ready wit, keen intelligence, and a natural sense of his own dignity and, when it is rightly presented to him (as in the case of Thais), of the dignity of others. There are thousands of boys like him, and once more Terence was writing "with his eye on the subject."

¹⁰ Take for a single, generally unnoticed, example the way in which he turns unexpectedly upon Pythias in lines 902-903.

¹¹ Compare lines 882, 887, 896, 1039, 1051-52.

¹² As noted above, lines 360-61.

¹³ It may be noted here, too, that despite his wit and his youthful tendency to ridicule, the play does not in any sense suggest a lack of respect on the part of Chaerea. Even the conversation which the impatient boy held with the old relative who detained him on the street (lines 337-62) does not give the slightest hint that Chaerea forgot his respect for age.

A CLASSICAL BACKGROUND FOR FASCISM

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"Like the great Hugo, I am a voluntary exile from my native land and shall remain one until I can return with my self-respect. May God soon speed a better day! Liberty — there is none in Italy!" So reads an extract from a letter written last year to a member of the faculty of one of our universities. Here is a quotation from a letter written by one famous Italian to another just after he had received the news of the death of the latter's only and much beloved daughter: "Why should your domestic grief so greatly upset you? Reflect how Fortune has dealt with us, that those things have been wrested from us which ought not to be less dear to mankind than children, viz., our country, the principles of morality, public distinction, all offices of state. Through the addition of this untoward matter, what could be added to your grief?"¹

How similar are the sentiments expressed in the two letters. The latter was written in the year 45 B.C. by Servius Sulpicius, the eminent jurist, to Marcus Tullius Cicero; the former by an *ex-ardito*, a man of position and education. They are quoted to show the similar impression made upon men of like social position, like intellectual training, and like political and moral ideals by events transpiring in Italy in the years 49-27 B.C. and the years A.D. 1922-27. Sulpicius and Cicero witnessed the overthrow of republican government by a model politician and dictator, Gaius Julius Caesar. We are watching the supersedence of constitutional government in Italy by the domination of one particular group.

For understanding Italy of today, her achievements and as-

¹ Cicero *Fam.* iv. 5. 2.

pirations, a background of Italy of yesterday, especially of the far-off yesterday of the classical period, is indispensable. In the Forum Romanum of Augustus stood the "Golden Milestone," from which radiated the roads leading to all parts of Italy and thence to every corner of the civilized world. It is quite possible to conceive that even now Italy may be inspired by the hope that there will be set up another "Golden Milestone," from which may radiate Italian dominance in world affairs. Such a hope finds expression in another letter written to the recipient of the one first quoted: "He whom we call Mussolini is only the Fate — or Destiny — of Italy. Mussolini is the man in the hands of Fate, leading Italy to her place in the sun. From the founding of Rome, Italy has been fated to be a leader in the world." This possibility, not concern for internal social problems, is without doubt causing Fascism to be a matter of so great consequence to Europe and the world.

"Eternal Rome"! Thus we think and speak of the city built on her seven and more hills between which flows the yellow Tiber, the *flavus Tiberis* of Horace. Horace, in the last poem of the third book of his *Odes*, makes the life of his poetry coequal to that of Rome. Of her death he could not conceive. Rome gained her great hold upon the imagination of men in the days of the Empire, when her political domination was supreme. From her went forth governors, generals, the legions, merchants, tourists, to administer the provinces and to spread Roman culture. After Rome ceased to be the political capital of the world, she became the spiritual capital. Even in the darkness of the Middle Ages, when within her walls were ruin, decay, death from plague, famine, and feudal strife, men dreamed of her past splendor and her possible mission in the future. In Rome culminated the glory of the Renaissance. When, in the nineteenth century, Italy achieved her dream of national regeneration and unification, it was only after the triumphal entry of the troops of Victor Emmanuel into Rome, on September 29, 1870, and the establishment of the capital of United Italy in Rome, that the stability of the Italian nation was assured.

The Roman Empire attained its widest expansion in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117). At that time the amount of territory governed from Rome aggregated six million square miles, embracing the most desirable parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Ancient Rome's reasons for territorial expansion were various. She started to conquer as a means of self-protection.² This motive was always a strong one. But it soon became secondary to the desire for gain. As Roman armies pushed ahead their centers of operation, prestige and wealth accrued to their commanders, and revenues poured into Rome to provide for the capital the luxuries of life and to make possible the execution of the superb programs of construction undertaken by the state and by private individuals. The Romans were the masters of the provinces which they created out of conquered territory. The provincials were the legitimate prey for exploitation of every kind, worse under the Republic, more regulated under the Empire.³ Roman citizenship was carefully guarded. In 88 B.C. the franchise was given to the Italians south of the Po river, and in 49 B.C. Caesar granted it to the people of Cisalpine Gaul. Not until the reign of Caracalla, in A.D. 212, was Roman citizenship extended over the Empire. Under the Republic, Rome was the mistress of a subject world; under the emperors, she was the capital and leading city of the Empire. Neither Rome nor Italy bore any of the expense of government. The tribute was removed from Italy in 167 B.C., and not again until the reign of Galerius (A.D. 293-311) was any tax levied from her.

Can such an inheritance of history and romance fail to be ingrained in the nature and thinking of the Italian people? Even though the present Roman possesses none of the old Roman blood, yet he lives on the same hills, by the same Tiber, beneath the same sky, surrounded by the same mountains. Above the ground and beneath it are the tangible remains of ancient Roman civilization, symbols of power once almost fabulous. These things, which do not change, have molded the Roman, the Italian character.⁴

² Cf. Boak, A. E. R., *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.* chap. v.

³ Cf. Cicero *Verrine Orations*; *Fam.* x. 32; Catullus 10.

⁴ Cf. Showerman, Grant, *Eternal Rome*, p. 578.

From earliest times the Forum was the center of civic life, the site of the *Umbilicus Urbis Romae* (the navel of the city of Rome). Subsequently, in order to furnish additional space, the five Imperial Fora of Caesar, Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, and Trajan were built in the area between the Forum Romanum and the Quirinal Hill. The process of laying bare imperial Rome has been going on for some time. The Forum Romanum is now rid of encumbering dirt and buildings. The Palatine Hill is occupied solely by the ruins of the imperial palaces. Now the Imperial Fora are being uncovered. The Forum of Augustus was actually opened officially on April 21, 1926. When the task is completed, there will be a vast zone in the heart of the city where one can relive the glorious events of the past on the very ground and amid the very surroundings in which they were enacted. Included in it besides the fora will be the Palatine Hill, the cradle of Rome; the Capitoline Hill, Rome's chief sanctuary, up whose slopes went the triumphal processions; and the Victor Emmanuel Monument, consecrated to the glory of new Italy. If the Victor Emmanuel Monument signifies the rebirth of Italy as a nation, will not these resurrected memorials, the very shrine of empire, cause the hearts of the Italian people to burn once more with national pride and the passion for foreign expansion and world dominance? "Imperial Rome," says Guido Calza, the noted archaeologist, "is being born again, according to the unanimous wish of the Government, of the Commune, and of the people."⁵

We have already spoken of the motives underlying the expansion policies of ancient Rome. Certainly two motives are leading modern Italy along a similar path. An aggressive foreign policy and consequent patriotic fervor will do much to win popular support for a partisan government such as that of the Fascisti. Secondly, Italy has a serious emigration problem, owing to her rapidly increasing population. We have no need to discuss this, except to note how it has led and is leading to the acquisition of territory. In 1911 Italy secured sovereignty over Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. This section was included in the old Roman provinces

⁵ Cf. *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. XXI, No. 6 (June, 1926), p. 279.

of Africa (annexed in 146 B.C.) and Cyrenaica (annexed in 74 B.C.). These two provinces constituted one of the most prosperous sections of the Empire.⁶ The ports controlled trade-routes bringing merchandise from regions to the south. Fine cities existed where there are now only desert sands. The African provinces furnished one-third of the annual grain supply of Rome. In Tripolitania, Italian archaeologists are uncovering striking remains of Roman civilization, notably on the sites of Sabratha and Leptis Magna; and in Cyrenaica, at Cyrene and Apollonia.

The richest section of the old province of Africa is, of course, now included in Tunisia, which is French territory. Here were the great ports of Carthage and Utica. However, we read that in Tunisia the Italian element outnumbers the French. We hear of contemplated naval bases in Sicily and Rhodes, of Italians settling in Malta, of the desire to colonize Italian peasantry in Asia Minor. Cecil Roberts is quoted as writing in the London *Westminster Gazette* (*Literary Digest*, March 6, 1926), "But behind all this evidence of virility lies a more potent factor, the inborn instinct for empire. Rome never forgets she was once the mistress of the world. It is, who knows, perhaps her private dream to be the mistress again, and every time Mussolini rattles a sword or sounds the bugle-call, the blood of ancient Romans, founders of a vast empire, leaps in the veins."

This may be true, it may not. Certainly Mussolini speaks no more of the Italian kingdom, but of the empire.⁷ Tangible evidences of imperial grandeur are being resurrected. A start has been made towards regaining territory which was the most prized possession of the ancient empire. Most interesting, historically, is the fact that, after the passage of fifteen hundred years, at the name of Rome the imagination of men is still stirred, the eye of the soldier flashes, the minds of statesmen become alert and apprehensive.

Such is the more obvious background for the imperialistic

⁶ Cf. Calza, Guido, "Sabratha and Leptis Magna," *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (Oct. 1925), pp. 211-21.

⁷ Cf. *Literary Digest*, May 8, 1926, p. 19.

tendencies of the Fascist government. For Fascism itself there is likewise a background in ancient Rome.

The circumstances attending the rise to power of the Fascisti are quite familiar to all. Banding themselves together for the purpose of restoring law and order and of preserving the integrity of the country for which they had fought, these groups of ex-soldiers marched on the capital, seized the government, and installed their leader as dictator. Their name they took from the old Roman symbol of lawful authority, the *fascēs*. As a result of the movement, Italy is given a stable government, men are working, agriculture is organized and promoted, strikes cease, railroads run, the currency is stabilized, the threat of socialistic upheaval is averted. But with these achievements has gone an elaborate system of spying, assaults, reprisals, deportations, even murder. A strict censorship of newspapers, movies, books, paintings, phonograph records, and advertisements is put into effect. Surely Fascism is the veritable contravention of personal liberty and constitutional government.

In spirit Fascism is materialistic. Its essence is the reinstatement of the undisputed authority of the state, of discipline, and of unquestioning collaboration by every element of the population. It is not concerned with the theoretical liberty of the individual.⁸ This is proven by the oath taken by the Fascisti in Rome, January 1, 1923. "I swear loyalty to Benito Mussolini, who governs the destiny of Italy. I swear devoted and absolute obedience to his government with uncontrolled conscience, which involves also the supreme sacrifice of life, the renunciation of all personal initiative, and the daily practice of iron discipline." It is the old oath sworn by the Roman soldier to the dictator. The state, and by state is meant Mussolini and the Fascisti, is concerned with assuring the material prosperity of all, internal security, and the respect of other nations. Hence there is no room for individual differences of opinion. There must be organization of every industry and profession, of social and recreational activities, but organization under strict governmental control.

⁸ Cf. *Literary Digest*, June 12, 1926, p. 16.

Ancient Rome in her early period was theoretically a republic. In fact Augustus himself was careful to keep up the forms of republican government. Rome was never democratic, however, in the sense in which we understand the word. The individual was never the unit of control, as is evidenced by the system of the *comitia centuriata*. The Servian constitution very carefully insured class domination. Even after the reform in method of voting with the spread of the citizen body through Italy, only a small percentage could come to Rome to vote, and hence the right of franchise was nullified. Rome went through a series of severe wars. In the war with Hannibal, a third of the Roman citizens died. The Punic wars, by creating a mass of unemployed, brought about a situation which persisted and which constitutes one of the most interesting phenomena of Roman life. In the time of Cicero 320,000 persons received free grain from the state. With this economic situation and with the rapid expansion of subject territory resulting from conquests abroad, the existing system of government could not cope. During the second and first centuries B.C. a succession of demagogues rose to power, who manipulated the government for personal aggrandizement. The names of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar call to mind the arming of mobs, the seduction of the legions, the employment of the armies of the state to establish a succession of disorderly and futile monarchies.⁹

In Italy of the last two centuries B.C. a republican government showed itself incapable of handling a difficult domestic and foreign situation arising as the result of a long, hard war and others which succeeded it. In the years 1918-22 another republican government in Italy made a like failure.

In the former period order began to come with the domination of one man. Julius Caesar destroyed the tottering constitution. He had no sentimental regard for old forms. He instituted new laws. He acted as the existing situation demanded. Julius Caesar

⁹ Cf. Cicero *Epist. ad Brut.* i. 10. 3; Showerman, Grant., *Eternal Rome*, pp. 115-17; Mitchell, L. B., "Background of the Roman Revolution," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Vol. XVII, No. 6 (March 1922), pp. 316-23.

gave the death blow to the expiring Republic. He did not found the Empire. This achievement he left for Octavian, the great organizer and consolidator. The Republic had disappeared, personal liberty and participation in government no longer existed. A single man, holding power not by election but because of inheritance or his choice by an army, ruled. However, law, order, and stable government had come out of chaos and Rome was able to leave a noble legacy to succeeding ages.

On October 31, 1922, after ministry had succeeded ministry, each one showing itself incapable of solving the industrial situation, Mussolini, the dictator, was carried into power. Mussolini is likened by some to Julius Caesar. In fact, he has been frequently quoted as referring to Caesar as his ideal.¹⁰ Undoubtedly Mussolini is putting into practice many of the policies of the imperial system. We have already spoken of two, foreign expansion and a detailed bureaucratic control of national life. The people are being organized, but not into the trade unions and business associations to which we are accustomed, based on selfish class interests. Rather the organizations are of the type of the old Roman *collegia*, or guilds, which the later Empire developed into such effective instruments for public service.¹¹ They were intended to promote operative efficiency and to provide social contacts. Ancient Rome controlled her mass of unemployed by feeding them and amusing them, the *panem et circenses*. Mussolini has put an end to unemployment by providing occupations and making everyone work. Even the tax on bachelors recently enacted is a revival of the policy of Augustus in the *lex trium liberorum*, which conferred special privileges on the father of three children.

The methods used by the Fascisti to obtain and maintain their powers, as they have been described in press dispatches and articles, are not strange to Italy. During the last two centuries of the old Republic aspirants to political power and officials under charges of corruption did not hesitate for a moment to use violence to secure election or acquittal. The *collegia* were turned

¹⁰ Hay, Lady Drummond, in *Literary Digest*, Sept. 26, 1925, p. 21.

¹¹ Cf. Abbott, F. F., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 205-34.

into tools for intimidating assemblies, the courts, and even the senate.¹² The letters of Cicero are full of references to such illegal tactics.¹³ Clodius, Cicero's great enemy and a partisan of Caesar, was an adept at these methods. He employed a band of armed freedmen and slaves to accompany him around regularly.¹⁴ He it was who caused Cicero's exile, the confiscation of his property, and the burning of his house.¹⁵ Finally in an encounter on the Appian road between the armed slaves of Clodius and the hired gladiators of Milo, partisan of the senatorial party, Clodius was killed. At his death the mob was aroused to fury. They bore the body to the Forum and made a great bonfire of seats, tables, and desks from the senate chamber, the result being a conflagration in which the senate house itself and a neighboring basilica went up in flames. Ferrero, the historian, gives a vivid description of these events.¹⁶

Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, were men who made full use of such tactics. The very noblest Romans lost their lives in the successive proscriptions carried on by these men as they succeeded one another in power. Sulla condemned 4,700 Marians, while a few years earlier Marius had hunted and slaughtered the adherents of Sulla during five days. The names of three hundred senators and two thousand knights were placed on the list of those proscribed by Antony and Octavian. Among them was Cicero.

Therefore the events which have transpired since the war are no strangers to the peninsula. They can be as easily paralleled during the years of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. "The riotousness of Roman audiences," says Professor Showerman in his book, *Eternal Rome*,¹⁷ "is as great as when in Cicero's time unpopular politicians on taking their seats were hissed by the multitude. The Camera dei

¹² Cf. Sihler, E. G., *Cicero of Arpinum*, p. 204.

¹³ Cf. Cicero *Att.* i. 16. 1-5.

¹⁴ Cf. Cicero *Sest.* 35. 77; Plutarch *Cic.* 33.

¹⁵ Cf. Cicero *Pro Domo* 25. 66, 67.

¹⁶ Ferrero G., *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. II, p. 101; Cicero *Mil.* 27-29, 33, 90, 91.

¹⁷ P. 579.

Diputati, with its turbulent displays of excitability, makes the passionate popular assemblies of Clodius and Caesar live again. The street riot of optimate and democrat, of senatorial and Caesarian, are still to be seen in the frays of communist and fascista."

Thus we see that for Fascism, in its ideals, its system, and its methods, there is abundant justification in the past history of Italy. Its ideals we look upon with suspicion, its system we would not tolerate, its methods we detest. However, in the light of its historical background we ask ourselves whether for Italy Fascism was not inevitable and justified. We think, in the history of our own country, of South Carolina in 1876, saved from ruin and degradation by Hampton and his red-shirts. The Fascisti undoubtedly kept Italy free from communism, which would have been disastrous for her, dangerous to the world.

Does Mussolini possess the genius of Caesar, of Augustus, or only their unlimited ambition? He has certainly many of the qualities of leadership. It is doubtful, however, that a political opponent would say of him, as Cicero said of Caesar, that he was *et prudens et liberalis* (possessing both the far-sighted intelligence and the generous courtesy of the gentleman). When the Romans of the Empire tired of their particular emperor, he was removed by well-established methods. Will the like happen to Mussolini? Will Mussolini establish a dynasty? If not, who will succeed to his power? Will the form of government set up by the Fascisti persist and function, regardless of change of head, as did the old imperial system? We watch to see whether the analogy between Fascism and the establishment of the old Empire, so striking in its inception, will persist to the ultimate outcome.

THE ROMAN LAW OF DELPHI AND THE *LEX GABINIA*

By MAX RADIN
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The *lex Gabinia* was a law which created what was in effect a principate for Gnaeus Pompeius. It was supported with heart and soul by the brilliant — and then democratic — orator, Cicero, and most American schoolboys have read his speech on the supplemental law of Manilius and his references to the Gabinian law in that. Therefore, when an inscription recently found in Delphi gave a Roman law in a Greek translation which seemed to be this very law of Gabinus, a certain pleasurable excitement in Roman historians was easily accounted for.

The law was found inscribed on three slabs of the base of Aemilius Paulus' statue. The first of these slabs (A) is so mutilated that nothing much can be made of it except the fact that Lycia and Pamphylia were mentioned. B and C, on the other hand, are much better preserved, although here, too, there are distressing lacunae at important points.

In M. Gaston Colin's long article (*Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*, 1924, XLVIII, pp. 58-96) the law is given in full with facsimile, transliteration, a French version, and a full commentary. The Greek is bad, and the rendering of Latin terms and words is clumsy and awkward. It seems a work of haste. The one outstanding fact in the law is the stringency with which all the magistrates — even the highest — are to be held to its literal observance. Their obedience is to be secured by an oath of a specially rigid kind and a huge fine — much larger than that provided for in other laws. The fine is to be imposed for every infraction and may be enforced at the suit of any citizen.

But that it is the Gabinian law remains to be proved. In the

Révue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger for October-December, 1925, M. Cuq returns to it, and in reply to M. Gaston Colin's article gives further reasons for believing that the law is the *lex Gabinia* of 67 B.C. M. Cuq's views were supported by Mr. Cary in *Class. Rev.*, XXXVIII, pp. 60, 163. To agree with M. Cuq affords a certain presumption of being right. Yet there are difficulties which I still find unresolved and which lead me to a different conclusion.

M. Cuq seems to be certainly right as against MM. Colin, Ormerod, and Lévi, who would place the law somewhere near 100 B.C. They rely largely on the mention of the consulate of Marius and Flaccus in the inscription (B., l. 20). The stone is broken at that point and all that we can say is that the law in some way for some purposes takes the situation in 100 B.C. as a starting point. Just in the same way (B., ll. 28-29) Θρά]κην ἥς Τίτος Δείδιος ἡγούμενο[ς] ἐκατέησε is included within the sphere of the proconsul of Macedonia's activity. There was no province of Thrace until imperial times and no considerable occupation till Agrippa. The conquest of the Thracian littoral by Didius took place in 100 B.C. (Eusebius *Chron.* (ed. Schöne) ii. 132 b, 133 f.). This date is therefore twice referred to in our law, and the tense of the verb ἐκατέησε confirms the supposition that the consulate of Marius is merely taken as a terminus a quo, and does not give the date of the law.

M. Cuq is again right when he argues that the provisions of the law do not fit the situation of 100 B.C., when the popular party was pretty completely repressed. Indeed, it would be hard to find any time when a law like this could have been passed, or even proposed without danger, between 100 B.C. and the death of Sulla in 78 B.C. But the very year of Sulla's death saw an immediate access of boldness on the part of the popular leaders. We should therefore be better advised in taking 78 B.C. as the earliest year for the law.

The greatest obstacle to identifying the law with the *lex Gabinia* is the reference to a possible king or kings of Cyrene, [πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐν Κυ]ρήνῃ βασιλεύοντα (B., l. 9). In 96 B.C.

Ptolemy Apion, the last king of Cyrene, died, after bequeathing his kingdom to Rome. Lévi and Ormerod, therefore, accept this year as the terminus ad quem. But, as M. Cuq points out, Rome did not accept the legacy at once. Cyrene was not made a province till 74 B.C., and, says M. Cuq, there was no *annexion définitive* till 67-66. His first suggestion is that between 74 and 67 the Romans may have established a king there for their own convenience.

But surely that is more than questionable. Just what M. Cuq means by *annexion définitive*, I cannot quite tell. It seems certain that Cyrene was made a province in regular form in 74 B.C. It cannot be conclusive that only a quaestor was sent there. A quaestor might be sent *pro praetore*, as Piso was sent to Spain (Sall. *Cat.* 19) or Cato to Cyprus (Vell. Pat. ii. 45.4, *cum iure praetorio*). There were probably no higher senatorial magistrates to send. It would be difficult to find a case in which a *regnum* was included within a Roman provincia. Kings might be appointees of Rome, and humble and subservient vassals, but their existence seems to exclude the concurrent jurisdiction of a Roman magistrate. The *nomen regale*, even the dignity of a beggarly tetrarch, carried certain essential conditions with it.

In the anarchy between Apion's death and 74 (Josephus *Ant.* xiv. 7. 2) there were, it is very likely, a number of persons who claimed to be kings of Cyrene, one or more of whom may have received the same sort of recognition that Rome granted the sons of Antiochus Eusebes of Syria (Cic. *Verr.* II. iv. 27). Even in the Empire, where we find instances in which the personal title of king was continued after the province had been established, as in the case of Agrippa II of Judaea, the kingdom is outside the limits of the province.

The alternative suggestion of M. Cuq is that the reference to the *reges socii* is copied verbatim from an older law on the same subject, at a time when there had been a king in Cyrene. However, so gross an inadvertence in a law that assigns functions with painful minuteness, seems scarcely probable.

Under these circumstances, I am inclined regretfully to forego

the tempting identification of this fragment with the *lex Gabinia*. The limits within which it may be dated are, as I have suggested, 78-74 B.C.; but it seems that these limits may be still further narrowed.

In the list of magistrates who should swear to the law all magistrates now in Rome are included. Two exceptions are made, the *ἐπαρχοι* and the *δήμαρχοι*. The ordinary sense of *ἐπαρχος* is, of course, "praefectus." M. Cuq may be right in thinking of these *ἐπαρχοι* as newly created officials. But their omission is due to the fact that as special officers, with subordinate or delegated authority, they would have no opportunity of hindering or defeating the law.

But why should the *δήμαρχοι*, the tribunes, be omitted? Under Sulla the tribunate had been reduced to a mere shadow, *imago sine re* (Vell. Pat. ii. 30). A tribune was ineligible for further preferment. Since they could not be consuls or praetors, existing tribunes would never have the execution or frustration of the law in their powers, and might be relieved of the oath. The agitation for the restoration of the full tribunician power began in the very year of Sulla's retirement. It was not finally successful till the *lex Pompeia Licinia* of 70, but by the *lex Aurelia* of 76 tribunes were once more made eligible for the higher magistracies. There would then cease to be any reason for exempting them from a *ius iurandum in legem* which was apparently imposed even on quaestors. We may accordingly with some plausibility place our law in the period 78-76 B.C.

This limitation seems to be presented by indications within the law itself. How does it accord with the then existing state of the long war against the pirates? It was just at this time, 78-76, that P. Servilius Vatia was conducting his brilliant and temporarily effective campaign against the pirates in Asia Minor, a campaign that ultimately earned him his name of Isauricus (Eutr. vi. 3; Oros. v. 23. 22; Drumann-Groebe, IV, 408) and in the early part of which the young democratic leader, Caesar, shared (Suet. *Jul.* 3). The principal purpose of the law was to hold up the hands of the Roman authorities, and to provide

particularly for a general war of the whole Eastern Mediterranean against the common enemy of nations.

This will give a particular point to the importance which Rhodes assumes in this law (B, ll. 13, 17), as well as to the reference to Lycia and Pamphylia in A. Rhodes would be important in any maritime war. But Rhodes is close to Lycia. Two of its harbors, Rhodes and Lindus, face Lycia. Strabo (xiv. 3. 1) speaks of Lycia as the next step to the east from Rhodes. And Lycia occupied a large part in the operations of Servilius (Eutr. vi. 3: *is Ciliciam subegit, Lyciae urbes clarissimas oppugnavit et cepit, in his Phaselida Olympum Corycum*).

The law would be a little more interesting to us if it were the *lex Gabinia*. It loses only a little, however, in being a different but equally contemporary document from one of the most stirring epochs in the history of Western civilization.¹

¹ It was not until this article was in proof that I had an opportunity of examining Mr. H. Stuart Jones' excellent and detailed discussion of the questions raised here and of many more besides ("A Roman Law Concerning Piracy," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XVI (1926), pp. 155-73). Mr. Jones goes back to the dating 100 B.C. and suggests the brief domination of Marius, Saturninus, and Glaucia as a moment in which the political background would seem adequate to account for such a law. I cannot convince myself that in 100 B.C. Marius would have desired to take the tone toward the senatorial party which is implied in our law. Under all circumstances, however, Mr. Jones has made much the ablest and fullest examination of all the matters involved and has given us the best commentary the inscription has so far received.

A REORGANIZATION OF THE LATIN CURRICULUM IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By BENJAMIN L. D'OOGHE
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A recent number of the *North Central Association Quarterly*¹ is wholly devoted to a report of the Committee on Standards for Use in the Reorganization of Secondary School Curricula, a committee that has been working for some time under the direction of the Commission on Unit Courses and Curricula. A General Report,² of sixteen pages, stating the function of the Committee and its progress thus far, is followed by the reports of a number of subcommittees on several secondary-school subjects, including Latin. It is the Latin report that concerns us in this article, but it is first necessary to say a few words about the General Report because of the relations they bear to each other.

The General Report is difficult reading, for the material presented is not well organized, and it leaves much to be desired in point of clearness and simplicity of statement. Why is it that educational theorists generally seem to feel it necessary to hide their thoughts under technical terms which only the initiated can understand? Is it to give fictitious value to what would be commonplace if stated in plain English? The present report would have been much more widely useful had it been so expressed, and the glossary of technical terms which it includes would not have been needed.

The Committee believes that secondary curricula need a thorough reorganization. It has not yet, however, felt prepared

¹ Vol. I, March, 1927, No. 4.

² Three reports are mentioned frequently in this article. The "General Report" is explained at this point in the text. Miss Pound's report, based on the General Report, is called either "Report on Latin" or "report." "*Report*" always means the *Report of the Classical Investigation*.

to formulate a complete program of studies, but has spent most of its efforts on the consideration of desirable immediate and ultimate objectives of secondary education. These are summarized as follows:

I. Ultimate Objectives:

1. To maintain health and general fitness.
2. To use leisure time in right ways.
3. To sustain successfully certain definite social relationships, such as civic, domestic, community, and the like.
4. To engage in exploratory-vocational and vocational activities.

II. Immediate Objectives:

- A. Acquiring fruitful knowledge:
 1. Preparatory to acquiring other knowledge.
 2. Knowledge which functions directly in developing dispositions and in discovering and developing abilities.
 3. Knowledge which is useful in the control of situations in everyday life.
- B. Development of attitudes, interests, motives, ideals, and appreciations.
- C. Development of definite mental technique in memory, imagination, judgment, and reasoning.
- D. Acquiring right habits and useful skills.

The final pages of the General Report are devoted to the presentation of the four ultimate objectives with their respective appropriate immediate objectives, each one of the immediate objectives being defined by such activities and subjects of instruction as are judged best fitted to accomplish the ultimate objective in view. This part of the report especially, with its many divisions and subdivisions and its numerous duplications, is open to the charge of confusion. A simpler arrangement would seem possible and desirable, and the duplication of statements could and should have been avoided.

And now, after this brief review of the General Report, we pass to the consideration of the report of the subcommittee on Latin. As a preliminary it should be stated that the work of this and the other subcommittees was not to formulate courses of study; but

rather to suggest the kind of material deemed most suitable to accomplish the ends in view. Questions of quantity, time, and sequence have been left for later consideration. The Report on Latin was prepared by Miss Olivia Pound, of Lincoln, Nebraska, and her task was a difficult one. Stated in her own language it is "an attempt to find materials of instruction in the field of Latin, which will contribute to the immediate and ultimate objectives of secondary education as set forth by the Committee." In other words, Miss Pound was not free to base her work on the well-known and approved objectives of the study of Latin as they are given in the *Report of the Classical Investigation*,³ but she was obliged to find some point of contact between Latin and the ultimate objectives formulated in the General Report, and then to define the immediate objectives connected therewith, using the captions and subdivisions of the General Report. The result is that the Report on Latin suffers from the same complexity of organization that characterizes the General Report. But for this Miss Pound is not to blame. It is to be hoped, however, that, when she revises her report, she will be courageous enough to break some of these shackles in the interest of clearness and simplicity.

Miss Pound chose the Social Ultimate Objective as the one toward the realization of which the study of Latin contributes through the pursuit of the immediate objective defined as *social communication*. This is listed in the General Report as a subdivision of "D. Acquiring right habits and useful skills."⁴ *Social communication* is interpreted as *language*, and the right of Latin to hold a place in the curriculum is made to rest entirely on the ground that it increases the ability to use and understand English. To quote from the report: "*Latin is valuable if it be taught in relation to English.*"⁵ This is to abandon the study of Latin as an end in itself, and to elevate one of its by-products to the position

³ *The Classical Investigation, Part One*, pp. 29-82.

⁴ See list of immediate objectives above.

⁵ It is clear that Miss Pound was influenced by Mason D. Gray's *Introductory Lessons in Latin and English* (Rochester, N. Y., 1925), from which she quotes, and also by Mr. Gray's article "The Function of Latin in the Secondary Curriculum." In my judgment Mr. Gray is radically wrong.

of chief importance. This view, to which I am radically opposed, has resulted in giving the relation of Latin to English undue importance, and too much of the material for study has been selected on this basis. Neither do I believe, as the report declares, that the study of Latin will not *automatically* develop increased ability to use English correctly. That it does and always has, has been proved abundantly by experience and observation. Professor H. C. Nutting calls attention⁶ to a test made by Raymond I. Haskell, as part of the Classical Investigation, of the effect of the study of Latin upon English vocabulary. The really important finding in his study, which Mr. Haskell passes over in silence, is that a group of students who pursued the regular course in Latin *without special attention to derivation*, made a better score than a group of non-Latin students who had given a fifth of their time to derivational work. And this is just the result that common sense would lead us to expect.

It may be asked, "How can the study of Latin as an end in itself be regarded as an objective leading to any one of the ultimate objectives in the General Report?" Under the same subdivision from which Miss Pound selected *social communication* are found such terms as *habits of self control, self reliance, initiative, logical thinking*. For these might fairly be substituted the disciplinary objectives named in the *Report of the Classical Investigation*, p. 55: *habits of sustained attention, orderly procedure, overcoming obstacles, ideals of achievement, accuracy and thoroughness*, etc. However psychologists may quarrel about the powers of the mind, its divisions and interrelations, they all agree that there is transfer of general habits, ideals, and attitudes. Obviously the development of these mental traits should be sought by every subject in the curriculum. But experience of many centuries has proved that the study of Latin and Greek excels all others in developing desirable traits of mind and character. These, it seems to me, would have been altogether worthy and admirable

⁶ "Objectives and their Attainment in the Teaching of Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXI, pp. 5 ff.

objectives for the Report on Latin, and thus Latin would have been kept in the supreme place to which it is entitled.

The materials outlined in the report have been arranged under the headings "First Year Latin" and "Second Year Latin," and are mainly those recommended in the *Report of the Classical Investigation*. This choice was wise and safe, but not equally wise and safe was it, in my judgment, to follow the recommendations of this *Report* in certain other respects.

For example, Miss Pound says that students are to learn how to read and understand Latin as *Latin*. To be sure this method has had the recommendation of many individuals and official bodies ever since the appearance of Professor Hale's *The Art of Reading Latin*,⁷ in 1887, and the *Report of the Committee of Ten*, in 1894.⁸ Further, according to the *Report of the Classical Investigation* (p. 94), about 75% of the teachers who filled out the general questionnaire favored the use of this method.

The writers of the *Report of the Classical Investigation* were the first, however, to take all these recommendations seriously and the first to try to put this method into actual practice. But, strange to say, teachers have not responded, and are now, after four years, generally teaching by the analytic method just as they did before the *Report* was published. Why then did 75% of them recommend the reading method? Mainly, no doubt, because they stood in awe of the weighty authorities that stood back of it and because they did not have the courage to oppose it and appear to be old-fashioned and back numbers. But why are they not trying it? Because they are getting good results by the analytic method. Their pupils are showing increasing ability to read and understand Latin, the primary immediate objective. They see practical difficulties in using the reading method and fear unfortunate results if they try to do so. They are, fortunately, wise enough to follow the good advice of Professor Lodge in his "Catechism" on the *Report*:

⁷ W. G. Hale, *The Art of Reading Latin*, Mentzer, Burk & Co., 1887.

⁸ *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Subjects*, American Book Co., 1894, pp. 70-72.

Ques. — Should I immediately change my method of teaching not only translation, but Latin in general, as a result of the recommendations contained in the Report?

Ans. — Not until you are sure that you can get better results by such a change.

Professor W. L. Carr, who is a leading advocate for the reading method, pleads for it earnestly and ardently in a recent number of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*.⁹ He seems not to realize that existing conditions are such that the general introduction of the reading method in all schools would lead to sure and disastrous failure in a large percentage of them. The most important of these existing conditions are as follows:

1. Only superior teachers can use the reading method with success. The Classical Investigation has shown¹⁰ that over three-fourths of the public high schools of the country are in places with a population of under 2500 and that about three-eighths of the pupils studying Latin are enrolled in these schools; further, that nearly 40% of the Latin teachers in these schools have never gone beyond the secondary-school stage in their own study of the language and almost as many more are not college graduates.

Thus, there are several thousand teachers that are not qualified to teach. They seem to have sense enough to realize this themselves. They are using the analytic method and should continue to stick to it because by it they can and do get fairly good results.

2. There were in 1923-24 approximately 940,000 pupils studying Latin in the secondary schools of the United States.¹¹ That sounds very encouraging. But, out of every 100 pupils enrolling in Latin, 69 study it for only two years, 31 dropping out at the end of the first year and 38 more at the end of the second. Can we expect this large majority of our pupils to learn to read Latin as *Latin* in this brief time? The question needs no answer. Not one of these pupils has sufficient grasp of forms, syntax, and

⁹ W. L. Carr, "Shall We Teach Our Pupils to Read Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXIII (April, 1928), p. 500.

¹⁰ *Report of the Classical Investigation, Part One*, p. 22.

¹¹ *Report of the Classical Investigation, Part One*, p. 29.

vocabulary, to say nothing of Latin sentence structure, to attack successfully, in the Latin order, the reading matter which he must cover.

3. It is admitted by all that the reading method requires more time and drill, especially in the early stages of Latin, than the analytic method. But the curricula of high schools have become so crowded that there is no time for anything. In Germany, eight to ten periods per week are given to beginners' Latin. There, perhaps, the reading method might be used with some success. What can we hope to do with only five periods per week and at that, in many schools, only a half hour long?

4. Latin is harder for us to read in the order in which it stands than perhaps any other language. This is due to its peculiar word order and complex sentence structure. Of course, no one is really master of a language until he reads it, as he does English, in its natural order, getting the thought as he goes along and without translation. But this ability comes to the Latin student, if it ever comes, only after many years of labor have brought complete familiarity with every phase of the language. And even then, I venture to say that the best Latinist, when reading a new and difficult author, uses the analytic method occasionally when called upon to solve a long and intricate problem in Latin syntax. And why shouldn't he? It's the natural thing to do, and we often resort to analysis even when interpreting our more abstruse English writers. The *Report of the Classical Investigation* acknowledges this when it says,¹² "While recommending that a reading method following the Latin word order be regularly employed by the pupil in his attack upon a Latin sentence, we recognize the fact that in the interpretation of difficult passages it will at times be necessary to resort to a detailed analysis." To the beginner, all but the simplest sentences are difficult.

Even if the use of the reading method by beginners in Latin presented none of the obstacles enumerated above, I should still feel that it would have to be modified in one particular. Its promoters do not attach sufficient importance to translation. In the

¹² *Report of the Classical Investigation, Part One*, p. 197.

words of the *Report*, "A large part of the Latin text should be read and comprehended in Latin *without translation*." ¹³ A recent article ¹⁴ in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, in which the relative merits of the reading and analytic method are ably discussed, well expresses my own convictions on the value of translation:

We all want the best method that a thousand years of Latin teaching can bring to our hand. But I, for one, hold to the translation method today because I believe it best shows me what a pupil knows about his lesson. I believe that it does not waste time, and that it is definite in aim. I believe that through it the background of syntax, political, secular, and religious history, mythology, geography, and proper English usage can best be served. I believe that it best subserves that most important by-product of Latin study, the improvement of spoken and written English.

The reading method as it is presented in the *Report of the Classical Investigation* contains some other features, not yet mentioned, which give it a truly dangerous aspect. The old and tried attack on forms, syntax, and vocabulary is to be abandoned and what is called "functional knowledge" is to take its place. Strange forms are to be met the first time in connected reading matter; guessed at for a time and paradigms learned later or, more likely, not at all. New words are not to be memorized, but their meaning inferred from the context. New constructions are to occur first in connected reading matter and a hazy idea of what the case, mood, or tense signifies is to precede definite study of the syntax involved. An exact and accurate statement of what a construction is is derided as "labeling ablatives and subjunctives." In a word the precision and accuracy that have always been the honor and pride of classical scholarship are to be banished and replaced by a grand guessing game in which the best guesser wins the prize. Familiar names are carefully avoided to avert suspicion; but, as a matter of fact, what is this but a revival of the old Inductive Method, of unsavory memory, which ran a short and inglorious course in our schools some thirty-five years ago, with most dis-

¹³ Italics are mine.

¹⁴ "What Price Method?" By Dorrance S. White, CLASSICAL JOURNAL, XXIII, p. 519.

astrous results; and whose death, unhonored and unsung, was hailed with deepest joy? How unfortunate it is that each new generation fails to profit by the failures of the old, but must suffer its own bitter experiences! The inductive method failed before and it will fail again, by whatever new name it may be reintroduced.

Another feature that characterizes the reading method as presented by the *Report of the Classical Investigation* is its excessive use of the Direct Method. This is all the more strange because the *Report* itself (p. 233 ff.) warns against the use of this method in American schools. Thus, on p. 235, we read, "In the hands of inexperienced teachers the attempted use of this method has been found to result in great waste of time with extremely poor results, a glib and showy response on the part of the pupils and an alert interest in the classroom often veiling a serious lack of exact knowledge and substantial progress." A moderate use of the direct method is very valuable. I have always favored it and more than forty years ago published a book of Latin dialogues. In all my beginners' books, too, I have made colloquial Latin a prominent feature and encouraged its use. *But it belongs only in the first year.* There oral Latin is very useful. The ear needs to be trained as well as the eye, and that can be done very successfully by the use of simple sentences well within the compass of both teachers and pupils. Then, too, oral Latin serves as a splendid means for drill on the forms, syntax, and vocabulary previously¹⁵ learned. Further, it acts as a tonic and keeps the class interested and wide-awake. But when the first year is over and the work grows more and more difficult and the teacher asks questions in Latin that is none too good and the pupil replies, if he can, in Latin that is unspeakably bad, the use of oral Latin is no longer of advantage and should be abandoned. The *Report*, however, urges its continuance throughout the course, insists that by it the teacher should find out what the pupil knows about his lesson,

¹⁵ Note that I say *previously learned*. I have no confidence whatever in the direct method as the means by which *new* forms and constructions are presented.

questions in English and translation — especially translation — being avoided as much as possible.

Perhaps, when Miss Pound revises her report and comes to the injunction that pupils should acquire "the ability to read and understand Latin as Latin," she will delete the last two words. That would leave the schools of the North Central States free to use whatever method seems to them best adapted to accomplish the great immediate objective. And I hope that she will not be deterred from making this and other changes by any feeling of reverence she may have for the recommendations in the *Report of the Classical Investigation*. Many of them are all right, some of them, in my judgment and in that of many others, are all wrong. There has been altogether too great a tendency to accept this *Report* as the *ipse dixit* of final authority. A request to review Miss Pound's Latin Report has given me an opportunity of uttering some plain truths that I have been wishing to express for some time. There are certain facts connected with the preparation and contents of the *Report of the Classical Investigation* that are known to some and should be known to all. The *Report* came to us bearing the names of many eminent scholars and teachers; but most of it, if not all of it, was written by only two or three men. These men were capable and well qualified, but not more so than any other committee of equal number and equal ability. Any other similar committee would, no doubt, have reached different conclusions on many matters and would have made different recommendations. A report thus prepared inevitably reflects the individual beliefs and heresies of the individuals writing it, and the present *Report* is no exception. The *Report*, with but little revision, was accepted by the Advisory Committee of Fifteen which had charge of the investigation, though there was strong opposition to some of its features, especially to those that I have discussed in this article. Teachers should, therefore, give the *Report* all the respect that it deserves and no more. It is not a sacred document containing the revelation of ultimate truth, but only a mile stone on the path of progress, to be followed, in time, by other mile stones, each in turn a better guide for those pursuing the *Via Latina* of education.

AN ITALIAN ATHENS AND A ROMAN NEWPORT¹

By JULIA COOLEY ALTROCCHI
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On an April day when the pink Judas trees were in bloom in the park near the Aquarium, we turned away from the beckoning Amalfi road and drove north along the coast from Naples to such enchantments as we had never dreamed. Past Virgil's tomb and the old harbor of Puteoli, and Lake Lucrine of the imperial oysters, into a wild country of bleak hills and brambly, uncultivated fields, broken only by a few stumps of Roman ruins, rising like grey elephant-backs, out of the underbrush. At last we sighted a rocky, bush-grown hill rising sheer out of the meadows, as straight as the Acropolis at Athens. Then we recognized the hill called "Gauro," where, in about 1050 B.C., if we might believe tradition, a few boatloads of Greeks, from Cyme, in Aeolis, founded the settlement of Cumae, which was to become so great and glistening a city — "Cumae," or "the Wave," given so beautiful a name either because of its own resemblance to a risen wave or because of the restless sea that undulates ever at its feet. Once it must have been foam-white with marble palaces and temples, the great Temple of Apollo, patron of the town, towering above them all like a suspended crest.

Nature seemed to be weaving a web of inaccessibility around so much beauty, for the country lane that led to it was overgrown with rose-briars and brambles, Queen Anne's lace and bushes of gleaming yellow ginestra, that scraped against the car and waved antennae and petals in our faces, as we moved slowly and unevenly to the approach. At last we came up under the hill, within sight of the grey-spreading sea. There seemed no possible road or path

¹ For much of the historical material and most of the translations I am indebted to Miss Frances E. Sabin's interesting compilation, *Classical Associations of Places in Italy*. R. A. L. Fell's *Etruria and Rome*, Pindar's *Odes*, Martial's *Epigrams*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Mary B. Whiting's article on "The Sibyl of Cumae" in the *London Quarterly Review* for July, 1926, and various guide-books have also been consulted.

or access of any kind to the summit, yet the summit beckoned as if it were a lodestone. So, leaving the car, we started up, climbing by hand and leaping from rock to rock, like mountain goats. At last, among the hidden rocks, we stumbled upon a threadlike path, and this we followed eagerly, not only because of its destiny, but because of its remarkable composition. It was not of dust and pebbles, but of perpetual fragments of marble, terra cotta, and iridescent glass! At last the magic pathway led us to the summit, directly into the small plantation of the overseer, consisting of shack, cabbage-patch, and stone wall, or rather, *marble* wall, for it was made almost entirely of pieces of ancient Greek marble, a white arm or claw or acanthus leaf or scrolled capital protruding here and there, to bear witness to patrician origin.

But the glory of the summit was the view — off towards the land, ruin-marked meadows and green knolls, down towards the sea, low, grey-golden dunes, rippling slopes of sword-grasses, a wide gold beach, and the great water. Historic water!

Here the Greeks beached their goddess-prowed ships three thousand years ago and climbed the new crags to found a colony among Italian dunes. Here Aeneas, having, like Ulysses, safely passed the siren isles and the seductive coast of Naples, brought his Trojan ship to harbor. Here the Cumaean Sibyl dwelt, near her mystic cave. Here, in 474 B.C., the Etruscans, seizing the opportunity of the fall of Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumae, gave battle to the Cumaeans and were routed by the combined fleets of the Cumaeans and their ally, Hiero of Syracuse, thus preventing Etruscan domination in the south of Italy. I have seen in the British Museum a helmet worn by a soldier of Cumae in this very battle, and its simple, bronze reality made the battle very vivid and pageantic — evoking all the shouts and cries, the ring of sword on dented shield, the splintering of ships' timbers, the reverberations against the hill, and the foaming of the ship-churned sea. One wonders whether Pindar himself stood upon this hill or whether he wrote his first Pythian Ode (dedicated to his great patron, Hiero, and alluding to this battle), in Sicily after the return of the fleet and from the tales of participants.

Here also at Cumae, Tarquinius Superbus, an old, dejected, banished king, is said to have died in the house of his friend, Aristobulus, in about 505 B.C. Here the Romans firmly established themselves in 337 B.C. Here Hannibal made an unsuccessful attack in the Second Punic War. Here the courtier, Petronius, after writing his famous farewell letter to Nero, in which he congratulated himself on never having to hear Nero's execrable poetry again, conversed lightly with his friends, quietly cut the artery in his wrist, and retired, with a smile upon his face, to bed and an unwaking sleep. Here, at last, came the end of a great and beautiful city when the daughter-colony of Naples totally destroyed its mother, Cumae, in the ninth century A.D.

But we were sure that the hill was peopled by more than visions. The marble fences and vase-powdered path had already given testimony to other possessions. So we turned away from the sea and scrambled on, across the plateau, trampling the too abundant poppies and cyclamen in our path, and stubbing our feet against larger and larger fragments — marble column-tops, marble griffin-feet, and mysterious, incalculable chunks — until at last we came to the gateway of the Forum.

On one side of the marble-lined, stone-paved pathway stood a noble, headless, feminine, Greek-draped marble figure, and, opposite, its duplicate lay horizontal in the weeds. Even in their ruinous condition, and though one lay prostrate in neglected grass, these two guardians of the ancient gateway retained indescribable dignity and loveliness after so many centuries. Time treads so lightly, as lightly as a nymph, in Italy!

Beyond this worthy entrance were the foundations of temples, paved roadways, the lines of conduits, the bases of other unidentifiable structures, great columns fallen and cracked across, fragments of decoration, and, in one place, a monstrous red terra cotta oil jar, resting half buried in the ground where vanished hands had placed it. All of these magnificent ruins occupy a plateau apparently much smaller than Pompeii or Herculaneum, making it difficult to believe that Cumae once held sixty thousand inhabitants and was the great mother-city of the colonies of

Puteoli, Neapolis, and Messina. But there is a quality of glory here not surpassed by ash-drifted Pompeii or lava-tombed Herculaneum. Something of pure Greek beauty seems to survive here on this Campanian acropolis, above its indigo sea so fluently connected with the neighboring Aegean. Something of Ulysses and a little of Trojan Aeneas and much of the mysterious aura of that earliest Sibyl who lived here haunt the splendid hilltop. Phantom ships go by. Voices sound in the meadows and on the beaches below. Apollo hovers in the shafts of sunlight!

In exploring the foundations of one of the temples, we had noticed a passageway which seemed to lead down, down into the Stygian darkness of the interior of the earth. As we progressed, we noticed that other foundations were honeycombed with the black mouths of downward openings. This was only explained much later when we learned from an archaeologist in Rome that the entire hill of Cumae was tunneled with the passages of pre-Roman, pre-Greek, pre-historic people. It is thought that these passages were used at one time as a primitive refuge, at another as sanctuaries for the performance of the strange Cabiric rites by the early inhabitants of Italy, and still later as a tunnel between Cumae and Baiae and between Cumae and the Sibyl's Cave on neighboring Lake Avernus.

As we went down the hill by a new path, we ran suddenly into a great tunnel in the side of the steep cliff, with a small track entering it and the barrows of excavators lying idle at the entrance. The archway of the tunnel invited irresistibly. We entered, but the interior darkness prevented us from seeing anything save grey-brown, rough-chiseled tufa walls. At the auspicious moment we caught sight of some dried cornstalks lying on the floor of the tunnel. Lighting the tassel-ends of two of these stalks we proceeded with these cerous torches to an examination of the tunnel. We soon found that other tunnels pierced the hill in various directions, tunnels not laid with tracks, that did not seem contemporary but anciently hewn, mysterious, primitive. We were so intrigued by these cryptic, ebon passages that we hardly realized how our cornstalk torches were beginning to burn with a low,

smoky flare. Suddenly my light went out and my husband's flickered fearfully. We turned in the direction in which we supposed we had come, but by the time the second torch went out we had not yet reached a point from which we could see the vista of the daylight. We were in pitch darkness. For a few moments we knew, deep in the caverns of our hearts, what "panic" meant, though, with our physical beings, we stood still, calmly, to get our bearings. To be lost in the black heart of that far-off, lonely hill of Cumae, with no fellow creature near by save an unheeding caretaker in his shack a half-mile away, and with the possible danger of cave-ins and perpetual entombment in that ancient, ghost-ridden mound, was an experience sharp in its thrill and unforgettable in its brief intensity. Naples, far out there in the sunlight, with all its rainbow color, throb of song, and surge of life, seemed infinitely desirable.

As soon as the rigidity of our first fear had vanished, we began to creep carefully along the dark tunnel in the supposed direction of daylight. It was not until we had turned several corners of the moisture-reeking rock wall that we encountered that vision which is to those lost in darkness as land to the derelict. Daylight! No wonder the adjective "blessed" is so often prefixed!

When we emerged, the sun was well down towards the purple sea, and if we were to catch even twilit glimpses of Baiae on the way back to Naples, it would be necessary to hurry. So we half ran, half slid or scrambled down the rest of the hill, catching glimpses of marble scroll-work, column-tops, acanthus leaves, terra cotta fragments, starry cyclamen, and blood-red poppies underfoot as we flew, Mercury-footed! At last we landed, breathless, in an olive plantation, scrambled over a high stone wall, jumped down into the road, and scurried back to our automobile. We darted away from Cumae as fast as the ancient defeated Etruscans, though in a different vehicle, and with many a backward glance at that beautiful, tall, and storied rock.

We now followed the shore, which we had deserted at the Lucrine Lake for our historic detour inland, straight to Baiae, the

ancient, sumptuous summer resort of the Romans, Newportian in its elegance, Babylonian in its wickedness.

Stern Seneca once remarked of Baiae, in one of his letters (R. M. Gummere's translation) :

Baiae is a place to be avoided, because, though it has certain natural advantages, luxury has claimed it for her own exclusive resort. We ought to select abodes which are wholesome not only for the body but also for the character. To witness persons wandering drunk along the beach, the riotous revelling of sailing parties, the lakes a-din with choral song, and all the other ways in which luxury, when it is, so to speak, released from the restraints of law, not merely sins but blazons its sins abroad — why must I witness all this? Do you suppose that Cato would ever have dwelt in a pleasure-palace, that he might count the lewd women as they sailed past, the many kinds of barges painted in all sorts of colors, the roses which were wafted about the lake, or that he might listen to the nocturnal brawls of the serenaders?

The barges, the palaces, the roses — it is easy, with a touch of the Aladdin's lamp of imagination, to resummon them all! But there are sinister memories at Baiae, too. It was while he was staying here, in A.D. 59, that Nero treacherously invited his mother to visit him (after he had three times failed in his attempts to poison her), entertained her, banqueted her, and sent her off to her villa at Bauli in a fatal galley of his own, which collapsed just beyond the shore and from which the invincible Agrippina swam ashore. It was then that Nero had his mother put to death with the unequivocal dagger, on a false charge of conspiracy. Tacitus tells us that ever afterward the shores of Baiae haunted Nero like a persistent ghost.

It was here also that Marcellus, the beloved nephew of Augustus, died in his lamented youth. Perhaps it was here, in the great Augustan palace by the shore, rather than on the Palatine in Rome, that Virgil read his beautiful verses on Marcellus to Augustus and to Marcellus' mother, Octavia, who was so deeply moved by them that she fainted away during the recitation. Something of the springlike spirit of that engaging youth still lingers along the fragrant shore, evoking him even more surely

than the substantial memorial Theater of Marcellus and the Augusteum in Rome.

It was here also, in A.D. 138, that Hadrian finally met Death, that phantom which he had eluded and so feared throughout his vigorous life. To that specter he had sacrificed the beautiful young Antinous, in an effort to penetrate the mystery, to that specter he had built the great, cylindrical, defiant tomb which endures beside the Tiber to this day; and to evade that same pursuer, probably, he had built the lasting, labyrinthine palace under Tivoli, where he might hide his body and benumb his soul with festival. One wonders just which gigantic ruins at Baiae upheld the slipping soul of Hadrian at this great moment.

Did Caesar, Augustus, Domitian, Hadrian, and Alexander Severus choose the same site for their palaces, renovating and rebuilding the ancestral imperial abode, or, with more plausibility, did each select a new site on that sweeping shore to suit individual taste? There was room in that long, deep arc of golden coast for emperor, patrician, farmer, and servant. As Martial sang:

If I were to praise Baiae, that golden shore of the blessed Venus, Baiae the bland gift of proud Nature, if I were to praise Baiae in a thousand verses, Flaccus, yet I could not praise Baiae worthily or sufficiently.

Martial has left us also a charming picture of the Baian farm of his friend Faustinus, which serves most intimately to restore Roman life for us. To gather a few sentences from Walter C. A. Ker's translation:

The Baian villa, Bassus, of our friend, Faustinus, keeps unfruitful no spaces of wide field laid out in idle myrtle-beds, and with widowed planes and clipped clumps of box, but rejoices in a farm, honest and artless. Here in every corner corn is tightly packed, and many a crock is fragrant of ancient autumns. All the crowd of the untidy poultry-yard wanders here and there, the shrill cackling goose, and the spangled peacocks, and the bird that owes its name to its flaming plumes, and the painted partridge, and speckled guinea-fowls, and the impious Colchians' pheasant. Cotes are loud with the pigeons' croon; on this side moans the ringdove, on that the glossy turtle. Greedily pigs follow the apron of the bailiff's wife, and the tender lamb waits

for its dam's full udder. Infant home-born slaves ring the clear-burning hearth and thickly-piled billets gleam before the household gods on holidays.

In spite of all these references to the once active life of Baiae and Cicero's comment on crowded Baiae, we had not dreamed of finding more than a few Roman stumps. But here new miracles awaited us, for the entire shore, for a length of at least three miles, we found to be lined with the shells of Roman temples and villas, one of the most splendid exhibits to be seen outside of Rome. Baiae reeks with magnificent ruin. Here are the stately temples of Diana, Mercury, and Venus, roofless but with great side walls still standing. Here are hundreds of villas whereby to resurrect most vividly that gleaming city and to set one speculating as to which walls once housed magnificent Pompey, luxurious Lucullus (memories of whose other villas one stumbles upon at Naples, Tivoli, Rome, and in a dozen other places), Varro, who fluctuated between Baiae, Rome, and his famous farm under Montecassino, Hortensius, and countless other immortals.

We had time and light only to glimpse rapidly these suggestive shells and to wander over one of the imperial villas, the Cento Camerelle, Hundred Rooms — a ruin so vast, so honeycombed with vaults, arches, and ruined chambers that it was like a labyrinth. Did Caesar know these particular walls? Did Hadrian die within them? Which emperor first selected this glorious site at the beginning of the promontory of Misenum, looking straight down into the bay of Misenum on one side and the waters of Cumae on the other?

As we stepped out of the ancient palace, we had an unforgettable glimpse of the purple crescents of two dusk-covered bays, the low black-green lines of shore-bordering hills and the jet spire of a cypress tree in the foreground, with a milk-white star caught at its apex. With this vision tangled forever in our memories, we left the shadowy palace and the "bland shores of Baiae" with their ghostly villas and yet more ghostly temples, and made our hurried way through lighted suburbs and along dark water strewn with shimmering reflections, to the music, the laughter, the living enchantment of modern Naples.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

NOTE ON EURIPIDES I. T. 568

The tragic poets not infrequently incorporated well-known riddles in their dramas. The riddle of the Sphinx is perhaps the most familiar example. Euripides in his *Theseus* adopts a feature of the alphabet-riddle, making the unlettered herdsman describe the shapes of the letters which spell the name of Theseus. Athenaeus (454 B), who quotes the fragment, tells us that both Agathon and Theodectes did the same, and that Sophocles in his satyr play, *Amphiaraus*, made a dancer by his gestures and postures indicate letters. An example of the use of the universe-riddle is seen in the *Antiope* of Euripides (Ohlert, *Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1886, 121). Another famous riddle, which was answered by comparing the fruit, or the blossom and the fruit, of the mulberry tree to the tricolored cow in the herd of Minos, was used in the *Polyidus* of Sophocles and of Euripides, and in the *Cretan Women* of Aeschylus. The use of riddles by the tragic poets was justified by the familiarity of the audience with the riddles. The themes of tragedy, myths that everyone knew, must have contributed much towards holding the attention of the audience. The riddle, along with the proverb and other sayings that from primitive times have belonged to the common stock of knowledge, is used for illustration and for quotation and imitation in many forms of literature. Being known to all, such quotations form effective points of contact between the minds of the hearers and the new ideas which the author presents. This principle is recognized by Homer in drawing his similes from the daily life of his audience, by Socrates in his illustrations, and by Jesus in his parables. Comedy used the striking, and therefore the familiar, passages from tragedy; Plato quotes Homer, just as our New England forefathers quoted the Bible. So it is probable that Attic tragedy contains many a sentiment which is based on a popular riddle. As an example, one might

take the reply of Orestes to Iphigenia's question (*I. T.* 567), whether the son of Agamemnon still lives, at Argos. The last two words mean little to Iphigenia: she is merely trying to find out whether the dream which told her of her brother's death is true or false. Orestes replies: ἔστ' — which would be sufficient, but for the demands of the stichomythy — ἀθλιός γε, κοῦδαμοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ. The meaning of the last three words is somewhat cryptic, as Orestes intended them to be. They are found, with their literal meaning, in the riddle, τί ταῦτόν (ἐστίν) οὔδαμοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ; Athenaeus (453 B) gives this as an example of the oldest and most typical form of riddle. Since he does not assign it to any author, it must have been widely known. Hence the phrase would appeal to Euripides' audience as an apt adaptation of a familiar phrase to a delicate situation which demanded enigmatical language.

If we possessed some of the ancient collections of riddles, like that assigned to Cleobulus of Lindus, it seems likely that the echo of many a riddle might be found in Attic tragedy. Even without these collections a careful examination with this in view might result in interesting annotations, if not better explanations, of a number of obscure passages.

SAMUEL E. BASSETT

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ON THE GOLDEN VINE OF THE PERSIAN THRONE

Herodotus vii. 27: οὗτος ἐστὶ ὃς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσέῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ. R. W. Macan, *Herodotus, Books VII-VIII-IX*, I, 42, remarks on this passage: "These objects must have been famous to pass into anecdote in this fashion, though but few Greeks in the time of Herodotus can have seen them." Macan cites references to the golden vine in Photius, *Biblioth.* 612 H, after Himerios: ἄμπελος Ἀρταξέρξει (sic) χρυσῇ; and in Athenaeus xii. 514 f.: ἄμπελος χρυσῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς κλίνης. He remarks further: "The vine is last heard of authentically in possession of Antigonus in 316 B.C. (αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐν Σούσοις ἄκραν κατέλαβεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν τε χρυσὴν ἀναδενδράδα καὶ πλῆθος ὄλων κατασκευασμάτων, Diodor. xix. 48)." For the plane tree he refers only to a contemptuous passage in Xenophon *Hell.* vii. 1. 38.

That the golden vine was known to be part of the Persian throne

among people other than Greeks is demonstrated from an interesting passage in Rabbinic literature. Article 1046 (on Esther 1:1) of Yalkut Shim'oni, a Midrashic catena on the Bible, may be translated as follows:

When Nebuchadnezzar went up and made the sanctuary desolate, he exiled Zedekiah and Israel to Babylon, and he brought out the throne which King Solomon had made in his wisdom, regarding which it is said (I Kings 10: 18 f.): "Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, etc." It was inlaid with precious stones and pearls . . . and two vines of gold stood at the two sides of the throne and cast a shade over the tops of the pillars. . . . Some say that Pharaoh Necho captured it from Jerusalem and brought it to Egypt . . . and after the wicked Nebuchadnezzar desolated Jerusalem and came to conquer Egypt he found the throne there and took it and brought it to Babylon. . . . And when king Darius desolated Babylon he took the throne and brought it to the Medes. . . . And when Ahasuerus came to the throne he sent to Egypt and fetched wise [artisans] to copy the form of the throne, but they could not.

MOSES HADAS

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THE MEANING OF πεζός IN THE ODYSSEY

The verse in the *Odyssey* which has supplied the chief support for the theory that Homeric Ithaca was connected with the mainland and was not an island is the recurring one which follows the question asked of strangers regarding the manner of their arrival: οὐ μὲν γάρ τί σε πεζὸν οἶομαι ἐνθάδ' ἰκέσθαι. From this it is argued that while travellers visiting Ithaca generally came by sea, it was still possible for them to reach Ithaca by land.

Doerpfeld and his followers believe that this verse cannot be made to describe the island of Ithaca, but that it exactly fits into the conditions of Leucas, which in Homeric times was generally reached by water, yet could also be approached by land, whether it was then a peninsula or an island cut off by a lagoon from the mainland.

Sir Rennell Rodd in his recent book, *Homer's Ithaca*, presents powerful arguments for the old belief in the traditional island of Ithaca and says that in the island of Capri the inhabitants, descendants of the Greeks, when they inquire of visitors whence they have come, have the habit of following the sentence with almost this identical Homeric phrase, *perché non e mica venuto per terra*, "for you certainly did not come by land." This argument of Sir Rennell's

seems to me very convincing, but there are two verses in the *Odyssey* itself which have not been drawn into this controversy and which prove that the word *πεζός* cannot be made to do the heavy service which the advocates of the Leucas theory demand.

At the end of the tenth book Odysseus was informed by Circe that he must get ready his ship and sail across Oceanus and visit Hades. While he is preparing for this strange voyage a companion, Elpenor, falls from the roof of Circe's palace and breaks his neck. Odysseus seems to have started unaware of the loss of this companion and he sailed for an entire day, wafted on by a favoring wind.

After having crossed Oceanus he is startled to find that Elpenor is already there and in astonishment exclaims:

Ἐλπῆνορ, πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρώεντα;
ἔφθης πεζὸς ἰὼν ἢ ἐγὼ σὺν νηὶ μελαίνῃ.

Clearly the words *πεζὸς ἰὼν* cannot mean "coming by land," since Circe lived in an island and Elpenor had crossed exactly the same ocean which had been crossed by Odysseus.

A little later in that same eleventh book of the *Odyssey* the shade of the hero's mother, Anticleia, asked Odysseus how he had contrived to come in life to Hades and how he had crossed so many great rivers and especially Oceanus, "which it is impossible for one to cross"

πεζὸν ἑόντ', ἣν μή τις ἔχῃ ἐνεργέα νῆα.

This last verse and what precedes plainly mean, "which one cannot cross being *επζός*, unless he has a well-made ship."

There is no contrast here between the one who is *επζός* and the one who has a well-made ship. If the word must mean "by land" then having a ship would not help any, for ships are not used on the land.

Whatever the original and etymological meaning of this word may have been, it is perfectly clear that in these two passages of the eleventh book it cannot mean "on foot" or "by land."

The word in Homer has a vague meaning, a meaning closely akin to "unassisted" or "unaccompanied by others." It is of no value in deciding between Ithaca as an island and Ithaca as a part of the mainland.

JOHN A. SCOTT

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Book Reviews

Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire. By FRANK FROST ABBOTT and ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON. Princeton University Press, 1927. Pp. 599. \$5.

This is the best book there is on the municipal administration of the Roman Empire. It should be. It would be hard to find two scholars whose training and studies so complement and reinforce each other, who were better fitted than Professors Abbott and Johnson for such a task. Abbott with a judgment ripened by a life-time (alas! cut off too soon) of research in Roman politics and history, and Johnson with his epigraphical acumen; each with a wide knowledge of both fields, the former, however, more conversant in the Roman, the latter in the Greek field. Their work, too, is typical of the ideal American scholarship, which examines all authoritative pertinent research in every language, eschewing the bibliographical insularity and continentality which have marred many studies along similar lines. Like Botsford in his *Roman Assemblies*, Abbott and Johnson in this book have surveyed the masses of evidence and conjecture, and, after subjecting it to critical analysis and independent opinion, have reduced it all to good order and a reasonable length.

Fifteen chapters, seven written by Abbott, and eight by Johnson, comprise Part I of the book, in 243 pages; Part II, with 323 pages, contains the text of the 206 most important Latin and Greek inscriptions and Greek papyri that bear upon the relations of Rome to her municipalities. Brief critical commentaries accompany each of the 206 documents. The bibliographical references are at the bottoms of the pages. There is no complete bibliography, but there is a very satisfactory index. Boak in his review (*A.H.R.*, XXXIII, 1928, 376) mentions two or three conclusions that differ from those put forward by other authorities, and criticizes what he calls "apparently avoidable repetition of statement." This reviewer rather felt that the repetition was purposely made, and that in matters so involved and difficult the definition from different angles was clarifying.

The authors use only 38 pages in classifying Roman communities

according to origin, character, and juridical interrelations. Then they regroup them on the basis of their freedom from or obligation to the payment of tribute, setting forth rights, privileges, and duties in a very satisfactory way. A chart on page 55 gives a good picture of the Roman administrative units. In chapters vi and vii the municipal systems of the Republic and early Empire in the west and in the east are contrasted, and the key to much that is to follow is contained in the sentence "when the Romans first entered Greece, the era of the independent city-state had already passed." The successful experience of the Romans in Italy in creating a graded municipal status, and their equally notable psychological success in inspiring an emulation throughout Italy to strive upward toward Roman citizenship, rendered the Romans incapable of applying anything essentially different in conquered territory from what they already knew, except that a combined nonchalance, based on military success, and their administrative inexperience led to a complacent acceptance of as much as possible of the established order.

It was with the extension of *honores*, *munera*, and tax exemptions that Roman troubles began to multiply. The preference of the Roman senate to deal with an aristocratic few rather than with the unorganized and unstable many, though it seemed somewhat anomalous on the part of a Republic, is easy to understand. With the establishment of the Empire such methods were concentrated until the inevitable imperial bureaucracy was in the provincial saddle. Soon imperial taxes and requisitions began to harass municipal finances. The provincial assemblies followed the course of the Roman *comitias* in degenerating from law-making into edict-applauding bodies, from which the transition was easy into a sort of imperial cult *claque*.

The authors carry the reader with convincing argument down the broad ways of national disaster. A bad start begun in the days of civil war at Rome with an accompanying abrogation or disregard of law, a too rapid expansion of unamalgamating empire, the consequent expense of far-flung legions, the uncontrollable rapacities and ambitions of provincial governors, the growing irritation of subject peoples at inequitable taxes, the changes from poll to a land tax nearly as heavy on sterile as on fertile land, the rush to the cities to secure imperial favors and immunities, the depreciation of money — all these made an accumulation of difficulties against which such emperors as Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Caracalla, Severus, and

Diocletian enacted despairing measures, but with which they could not cope.

Chapters ix, xiii, and xiv are the best in the book. The thirteenth chapter is especially informative. Both statesmen and politicians in any country could read these chapters with profit, if not with delight. In this book Abbott and Johnson have produced an authoritative and scholarly work, and in so doing have also fulfilled the purpose of the Shreve Foundation, on which it was published; namely, "for the study of the history of nations, both ancient and modern, to ascertain the cause of their decay, degeneracy, extinction, and destruction, and to show the dangers that now exist and are arising which, if not checked, will injure, if not destroy, our free government."

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions.

By SIR JOHN EDWIN SANDYS. Second Edition, revised by S. G. CAMPBELL. Cambridge University Press, 1927.

As a rule only such changes have been made in this revision as could be made without disturbing the page and line arrangement of the original edition. Working mainly within this limitation the reviser has made numerous brief omissions, additions, and substitutions. The claims made, however, in the reviser's "Notice to the Second Edition" (p. xiii) that "most of the references to Wordsworth's *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin* have been deleted," and that "a number of passages have been rewritten," are, to say the least, not conservative. Only three references to Wordsworth have been deleted, and almost the only passages that may fairly be said to have been rewritten are a brief paragraph on p. 37 and a longer paragraph on pp. 202-203, both dealing with archaic spelling. One gets the impression that the reviser has carefully scrutinized every word and statement of the original edition. Practically every change that he has made will be accepted as an improvement.

It is perhaps inevitable that every student of inscriptions who reads the book will wonder why other changes were not made that could have been made without requiring a large amount of type to be reset. Why are not references given to *C. I. L.* for all inscriptions used that have appeared in *C. I. L.*? On the other hand, why are references to the collections of Wilmanns and Dessau occasionally not given

(e.g., n. 1, p. 71; n. 6, p. 106)? For most users of this book it is perhaps more important that references be given to the collections of Wilmanns and Dessau for all inscriptions used from their collections than to *C. I. L.* In any case the plan of making references should be consistent. On p. 127, whether the authors accept or reject his conclusions, Professor Frothingham's careful studies of the Arch of Constantine (*Am. Jour. Arch.*, 1912, 1913, 1915) deserved a reference. In the reviser's interesting note 3, p. 152, he has evidently overlooked *C. I. L.*, I², 959. Note 6, p. 114, needs to be rewritten. If an omission in (a) is pointed out, the parallel omission in (b) requires notice. But the second half of the note (Cf. Dessau, *ad loc.*) shows that no omission is to be thought of. At the time of these inscriptions, the first part of the third century A.D., the *Legatus Legionis Tertiae Augustae* was also *Legatus Augusti Pro Praetore Provinciae Numidiae*. The two offices ran concurrently, and either implied the other. In (a) one of these titles is used, in (b) the other. On p. 136 the name of Septimius Severus has been rightly substituted for that of Caracalla, but the statement is still likely to leave the wrong impression that in Gaul distances were not regularly reckoned in *leugae* instead of *milia passuum* before the time of Septimius.

The greatest disappointment in the revision is that there is no addition to the inscriptions offered for practice in reading. This defect will probably prevent a wide use in classes in American schools of a charming book which has now been markedly improved. There is no way to learn to use inscriptions except by interpreting inscriptions. The addition of twenty-five pages of carefully selected inscriptions would make a book which is now ideal entertainment for the leisure hour of the scholarly dilettante a practicable "Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions."

The chapter on Christian Epigraphy suggested by many reviewers of the first edition has not been made unnecessary by the English translation of Marucchi's *Manual*. A brief chapter would make possible effective use of the standard collections of Christian inscriptions, and is much to be desired.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

S. E. STOUT

Tacitus: The Histories. With an English translation by CLIFFORD H. MOORE. In two volumes. I, Books i-iii. (The Loeb Classical Library) London and New York, 1925. Pp. xviii + 479; two maps.

Ne nimis is honored here. Many might perhaps have desired a little more from one who is so obviously competent to give. I myself could have wished for a few additional notes on some of the more obscure passages; maps which marked a larger number of the places mentioned; and, since the second volume did not appear simultaneously with the first, an index. Such details, however, are of the nature of somewhat superfluous ornament, and can be furnished, as indeed they frequently are, by any sciolist. One need hardly remark that the introduction is concise and clear; the text sound and conservative, neither ornamented nor disfigured with all the latest fashions in circulation. But upon the ἔν μέγα, the translation, the most trying test of truly substantial scholarship, no pains have been stinted, and I believe it to be the best translation thus far made into English. It reads well; without an unnecessarily frequent resort to paraphrase it is far more lucid than its too often overcompressed and even contorted original; it is energetic, adroit, and idiomatic; and almost astonishingly accurate. I doubt, in fact, if there is a single positive mistake (except possibly "other fortifications" for *aliena munimenta*, which looks to me more like a misprint for "others'"); at least I have found none.

Occasionally, of course, one could have desired a different locution, emphasis, or *nuance*: I mean in such cases as following Rostagno in designating the script of the Medicean as "Langobardic," despite Traube and Loew; the version "stingy" for *parcus* (ii. 18), which seems a little too strong for a context indicating that the action was virtuous indeed, but only untimely; or "tools" for *instrumentum* (i. 22), instead of something like "retinue"; or "many marriages" (*ibid.*) for the simple *matrimonia*, which, if genuine at all, must refer to Nero's disreputable behavior toward his wives, rather than to the number of them (only three in all), since many quite unimpeachable characters have been married as often as he; or no more than "great" for *ingens* (ii. 4); and such trifles. But that is something quite different. Not to wish for things like this once in a while would

mean to have discovered the definitive translation, which does not exist because it cannot.

And finally for the accuracy. As a former pupil of a great teacher from whom I still constantly learn, I examined nearly every line with almost a younger student's hope of discovering a slip here and there as evidence of that master's common humanity; and I believe I have never reviewed a book in which it was so hard to find an error, yes even a misprint, and these so slight; while more than once when I thought I had sensed a flaw the defect was solely in my own scholarship. Here are all that I have been able to muster: *Zonares* for *Zonaras* (p. 12, n. 1); i. 53, n. 2, *decure M* for *decori*; i. 58, *dismissus* for *dimissus*; i. 76, n. 2, *a b* instead of *M*, which is intact here; note 1 on p. 129 two lines above its proper place; i. 77, the reading of *M* for *Saevino P . . .*, though admittedly difficult to decipher, can scarcely be what is given here; i. 87, n. 2, *spes* must be the reading of *a b*, not *M*, which is lost at this point; ii. 84, n. 2, *pucuniam* for *pecuniam*; p. 313, bottom, *Flavius* for *Flavus*; iii. 6, n. 1, 6 for 7; p. 361, top, *Verona* for *Cremona*; p. 368, n. 1 looks like two notes which in the process of printing have become jumbled. *En, exigua messis*. I list these *egregio inspersos corpore naevos* merely as credentials of the carefulness of my own examination. There may be other mistakes, but I do not believe that there can be many. I only wish, but can scarcely hope, that no work of my own may have any more.

W. A. OLDFATHER

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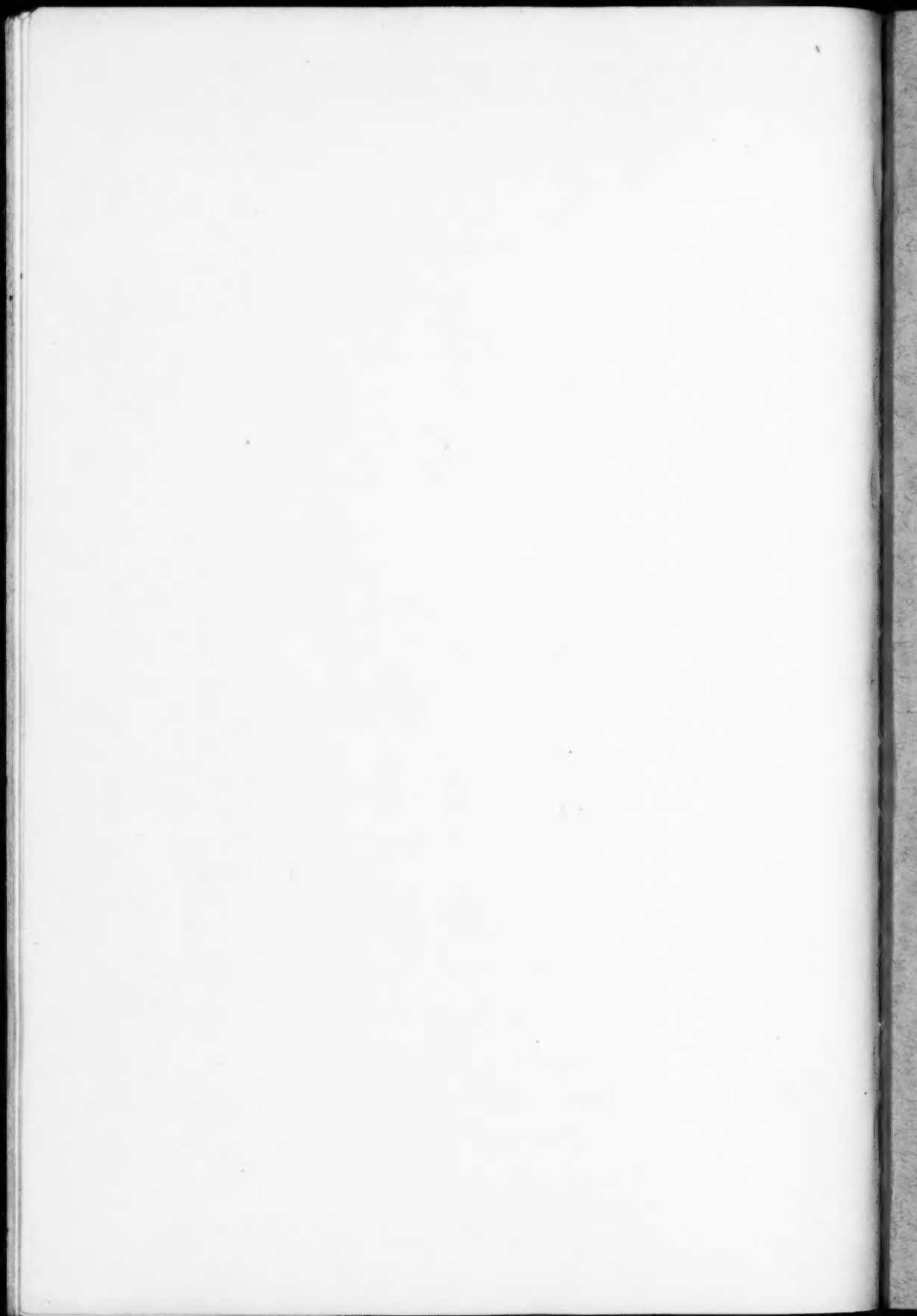
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